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AN  
HISTORICAL ESSAY  
ON  
ARCHITECTURE.

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AN

HISTORICAL ESSAY

ON

2027

ARCHITECTURE.

BY

THE LATE THOMAS HOPE.

ILLUSTRATED FROM

DRAWINGS MADE BY HIM IN ITALY AND GERMANY.

VOL. I.

~~~~~  
*THIRD EDITION.*  
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LONDON:  
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1840.

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1840  
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LONDON :  
PRINTED BY STEWART AND MURRAY,  
OLD BAILEY.

THE following remarks formed part of a pamphlet published some years since by the Author of the work now offered to the public : —

“ Architecture, as it is one of the noblest, is likewise one of the most arduous and difficult, among the fine arts. No man can be entitled to the appellation of a proficient in its higher branches, who has not seen much and thought more.

“ That taste, that knowledge, which, in minds the most happily disposed for the arts, are never the result of sudden inspiration, but must be acquired by long study and mature reflection, I dare venture to assert, that I have done more to obtain, than almost any other person of my own age living. From an infant, architecture was always my favourite amusement. I scarcely was able to hold a pencil, when, instead of flowers, landscapes, and all those other familiar objects of



which the imitation chiefly delights the generality of such children as show a turn for design, I already began dealing in those straight lines which seem so little attractive to the greatest number, even of good draughtsmen of a more advanced age. No sooner did I become master of my own actions, which unfortunately happened at the early age of eighteen, than, disdaining any longer to ride my favourite hobby only in the confinement of a closet, I hastened in quest of food for it, to almost all the different countries where any could be expected.

“Egyptian architecture I went to investigate on the banks of the Nile — Grecian, on the shores of Ionia, Sicily, and the Peloponnesus. Four different times I visited Italy, to render familiar to me all the shades of the infinitely varied styles of building peculiar to that interesting country, from the most rude attempts of the Etruscan, to the last degraded ones of the Lombards. Moorish edifices I examined on the coast of Africa, and among the ruins of Grenada, of Seville, and Cordova. The principle of the Tartar and Persian construction I studied in Turkey and in Syria. Finally, of the youngest branch of the art, that erroneously called Gothic, I investigated the most ap-

proved specimens throughout England, and most of the provinces of France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal.

“During eight years that this research lasted, I willingly encountered, to perfect myself in an art which I studied from mere inclination, and from which I expected nothing beyond the pleasure of understanding it, fatigues, hardships, and even dangers, which would have disheartened most of those who follow it as a lucrative profession, and who build on it their hopes of subsistence and fortune.

“Soon after my roving life ceased, I determined to add practice to theory.

“I must, in justice to myself, add, that had I more extensive means, and a better opportunity, I feel myself capable of designs far beyond the few and trifling specimens I have hitherto been able to exhibit.”\*

\* Of this enthusiasm in the cause of the arts, thus described, the following lines, written late in life, entitled an “Adieu to Youth,” give a vivid and a touching picture; and, though they never were intended to meet the public eye, I cannot refrain from inserting them, as a confirmation of the sentiments expressed above:—

“Distant plans of daring pride,  
Views remote of wild romance,  
Whose perspective vast and wide  
Could my youthful soul entrance;

The following pages present but a brief epitome of the result of the Author's studies and investigations in his favourite art of Architecture.

---

Trophies which I hoped to raise,  
 Regions where I meant to rove,  
 Schemes of pleasure and of praise,  
 Which my early fancy wove.  
 Projects mad all things to scan  
 Which the Gods vouchsafe to man,  
 Where the Pole's resistless chill  
 Bids the Ocean's self stand still,  
 Or the Tropic's fellest sun  
 Man compels his shafts to shun ;—  
 You I cherished so before,  
 I must cherish you no more.  
 Niagara's foaming fall,  
 China's everlasting wall ;  
 Chimborazo's snowy top,  
 Which appears the sky to prop ;  
 Hoary Hecla's watery spires ;  
 Raging Ætna's rolling fires ;  
 Torneo's sun, whose glimmering light  
 Half a year still haunts the sight ;  
 Towering Thibet's lofty plain,  
 Which conglomerate mounts sustain ;  
 Sacred Ganges' secret source ;  
 Niger's unexplored course,  
 Hapless Park's unravell'd dream,  
 Quench'd for ever in its stream ;  
 Deep Ellora's sculptured caves ;  
 Desert Memphis' gorgeous graves ;

Written at a later period, when, instead of affording a constant and connected pursuit, they were sketched as a relaxation from labours of a nature altogether dif-

---

Phile's Isle, whose ruins smile  
 In the mirror of the Nile;  
 Peaceful Cashmere's flowery vale,  
 Hallow'd scene of Eastern tale;  
 Mounts of Kaff, where fairies dwell,  
 And contend with sprites of hell;  
 Georgia, where God's noblest creature  
 Shows his noblest form and feature;  
 Mecca's house, Medina's shrine;  
 Sheeraz, flush'd with rosy wine; —  
 You, which once to face I swore,  
 You I ne'er must think of more;  
 Bold achievements, noble feats,  
 Whose emprise man's wonder greets,  
 Whose success e'en glads his ghost; —  
 You I ne'er must hope to boast.  
 By the foolish vulgar throng  
 Both detain'd and dragg'd along;  
 After things just born to die,  
 Made to join the vulgar cry,  
 In the toil of each dull day  
 My best years have roll'd away,  
 Till, approaching fast my wane,  
 Winter claims my worn-out brain.  
 Tales that used my soul to inspire,  
     Now I hear with calmness told;  
 Sights that set my blood on fire,  
     Now that torpid blood leave cold.

ferent, and far more absorbing — forming to them a brief and temporary interruption — intended as little more than an explanation to the drawings which accompany them — they may not treat the subject in the elaborate, complete, and comprehensive manner, which would have marked such a work, if the Author had put forth in it all the faculties of a mind imbued with every kind of knowledge, and embellished by the purest taste; which, while it embodied his learning and research, might also have been enriched with his

---

Slow and tedious is my pace,  
 And no longer dare I hope  
 Vigour while I run the race,  
 Pleasure when I reach the scope.  
 Then adieu, once dazzling dreams!  
 Leave, oh! leave my haunted mind,  
 Weary of its brilliant schemes,  
 To an humbler fate resign'd.  
 Simpler tasks my toil demand,  
 Nearer objects claim my care,  
 Higher duties for my hand,  
 Humbler labours, fast prepare.  
 These with honour to achieve,  
 And a virtuous race to leave,  
 When in everlasting rest,  
 And perchance among the blest,—  
 I this globe's vain joys deride,—  
 Henceforth be my only pride."

matured criticism on the works of others, and the stores of his own fancy, genius, and imagination. Neither can they boast the minuteness and accuracy which they might have attained, had they been, in their present shape, put forth under his own superintendence; had the authorities been multiplied, some arguments strengthened, some inserted, the clue to which only existed in the mind of the Author; and that which now appears as mere frame-work, made to display a polished form and a finished construction. Aware of these defects, but knowing also that the drawings were intended for publication, and the following pages destined, in a shape similar to the present, to accompany them—trusting that they may not altogether be without value in illustration of the art of Architecture—his son, in offering them to the public, requests their indulgence for the numerous deficiencies arising from the circumstance that the work has not had the advantage of revision or reconstruction by the Author.

In selecting, from among a considerable number of manuscripts which treat both historically and critically of many branches of the fine arts, one which may rather be considered as a sketch than a finished history of the extensive subject to which it refers, he has been

guided entirely by the knowledge that this work was designed for early publication : in arranging it, he has been actuated solely by the desire of adding nothing, and of altering as little as possible ; and he believes that the following extract from another manuscript, will exhibit the views and feelings of the Author better than any description he could give, or any remarks he could add in explanation of them :—

“ I, who, though of merchant’s blood, am not a merchant ; who, though dabbling in authorship, rank not among the inspired ; who can neither uphold the arts with the hand of a sovereign, nor praise them with the pen of a poet ; who have only been able to bestow on a few humble artists the feeble patronage of an humble individual ; and who can only, athwart the din of trade, the bustle of politics, and the clamour of self-interest, blinded by ignorance, raise in favour of the Fine Arts a feeble voice ; have done all I could : but the most general flame may begin in a single spark ; and should I succeed in kindling for the arts a purer, a more intense, a more universal love ; should I thus be instrumental in promoting in the country a new source of health, wealth, strength, vigour, and patriotism, and nobleness of mind and feeling, most copious

and most lasting—in calling forth to the evils awaiting a society whose prosperity borders upon plethora and dissolution, the most powerful preservative; I shall think myself the humble instrument of the greatest good that can be conferred upon humanity; and when comes the hour of death, I shall think I have not lived in vain.”





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A  
HISTORY  
OF  
ARCHITECTURE.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

IN all regions men have felt the necessity of adding to the covering which is carried about with the person, and which we call attire, another covering, more extended, more detached, more stationary, for the purpose of ampler comfort and of greater security, and which might be able, with his body, to include such goods as he possessed.

Wherever this receptacle has been formed, in consequence of the peculiar exigencies of the climate, of the inconveniences to be avoided, and the comfort to be derived, and with reference to the materials found to effect these purposes, which might most easily be obtained, and not in imitation of the constructions of other nations, the architecture, rising like an indige-



nous plant out of the nutriment, and modified by the checks of the soil and atmosphere, may assert its claim to perfect originality. Derived directly from, and wholly adapted to, the wants experienced, and the opportunities afforded of supplying them, it will, however primitive and simple, offer a distinctive form and character, evidently suited to these contingencies, and different from the architecture of other nations not similarly situated.

The savage, on the shores of New Zealand, possessed of no goods; indifferent to wife and children; with no care beyond that for his own hideous person, and for that person merely requiring, during the hours of repose, shelter against the fury of the blast or of the beast of prey, digs in the sand, for his living body, a hole little larger than that which he might require for his grave.

The Caraib, wandering among the trackless forests of the New World, instead of a dwelling level with the ground and formed in the shifting sand, scoops for himself, within the trunk of a tree partly hollowed out by decay, a habitation, not very extensive, but one whose foundations are rooted in the earth, and whose roof waves high in air.

The Tartar, on the elevated and central plains of Asia, whose herds are his sole wealth, and who, as soon as pasture fails in one spot, removes both his family and cattle to another, in order that his dwelling may follow his possessions, may be as light and portable as his roving life requires, may be adapted to his exigencies and his means, constructs it with the hides

of those very animals whose flesh he makes his food. While on the road he is satisfied with spreading them as an awning over the waggon that conveys his family; where he intends to tarry awhile, he transfers them to the ground, by throwing them across wooden poles, and pinning them down with wooden pegs: he never gives them a permanent hold in the soil.

Of these Tartar tribes, at a very early period, some hordes roamed eastward, until they reached a fertile country, where large rivers, and beyond these an immense ocean into which their streams flowed, forbade any further progress; but where the soil, by its fertility, consoled them for the impediments offered by the waters to which it owed its fruitfulness, and induced them to change their wholly pastoral for an agricultural life, and to remain stationary rather than retrace their steps;—here, then, no longer maintaining those prodigious herds, and no longer able to make their houses entirely of hides, they must construct more substantial dwellings of whatever other different materials they found more at hand; and here, no longer wishing their habitations to be portable, satisfied that they should adhere to the soil, they were content to do so. Instead of the tent of hides, they built the immoveable mansion of wood, of stone, of clay unbaked and baked, of brick—nay, of porcelain—of china!

Other Asiatic tribes descended from the cool heights of Thibet into the burning plains of Hindostan, and there found a country fitted, indeed, for the finest tillage, but, at the same time, felt the fiercest rays of the sun exert on them their fury. Thence their mode

of construction, from the first, offered forms and modifications wholly opposite to those of the Tartar tents. Renouncing all idea of further movements, only wishing for the most effectual shelter from the heat, they dug, in the barren rocks that surrounded their vast plains, habitations immoveable as the earth itself, and which formed one body with the mountains, into whose bosom they penetrated,—habitations which, fitted for them during life, seemed still most suitable after death. Thus arose the stupendous excavations of the Bahar ; thus were formed, along the banks of the Ganges and the Barampooter, those cities of caves, of which some served as retreats for the living, while others were left as a receptacle for the dead.

A population which, where the inexhaustible fertility of the soil supplied an easy and plentiful support, increased rapidly, soon was forced to advance into the plain, far from the reach of the surrounding hills, and, by degrees, became obliged, near the banks of the rivers, to raise on the surface of the ground the dwelling which, near the brow of the rock, they had been able to dig in the bowels of the earth. The inhabitants, instead of burrowing, now built ; instead of forming excavations in a previously solid mass, now raised a substantial pile round that which had been an uninterrupted void : instead of removing portions of rock, as superfluous and cumbersome, they now sought those very portions, before abandoned, as the materials they most wanted.

But as the distance from the mountains became greater, and the labour of the conveyance grew heavier

and was less willingly incurred for every trifling edifice; and where rivers, yearly overflowing their banks and inundating the surrounding country, left ample deposits of mud, and produced abundant crops of reeds and rushes, these offered at hand, and under foot, materials so plentiful, and so easily wrought into the requisite buildings, that, slight and perishable as such must be, they seemed preferable to those materials whose superior solidity was, in most cases, too dearly paid for by the difficulties of their transport and their erection.

The ordinary dwellings of India now obtained walls made of the mud found in the bed, and roofs formed of the rushes growing on the banks, of their rivers, and canals, and tanks, and, from the extreme of imperishable solidity, passed to the contrary extreme of perishable lightness; and only for those edifices, from the religion of the people, their temples, and from their superstition, their tombs, which were considered as requiring greater permanence, did immense blocks of stone continue to be taken from the quarry and the catacomb, conveyed with immense labour to the distant plains, and there afresh piled up in buildings, capable of resisting the utmost efforts that time itself might make to destroy them.

## CHAPTER II.

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE EGYPTIAN STYLE OF  
ARCHITECTURE.

As in Asia certain tribes descended southwards from the heights of Thibet into the plains of Hindostan, formed by the Ganges and its tributaries ; so in Africa certain other tribes descended northwards from the mountains of Ethiopia into the valley of Egypt, formed by the Nile and its various ramifications.

Because the Egyptians, in their astronomical knowledge and records ; in their religious doctrine and observances ; in their customs and manners ; in their works of industry and art, unimitative and imitative ; and peculiarly in their architecture, offered with the Hindoos some remarkable conformities : because they possessed certain traditions similar to those of the Hindoos, and believed in the transmigration of souls, and in their original emancipation from, and their ultimate re-absorption in, the supreme essence, or general soul of the world : because they have large excavations, and immense insulated monuments, like the Hindoos : because, of the former, the supports are short and massy ; and of the latter, the form pyramidal : because, in both, the lotus and the palm are favourite ornaments ; and many other symbols are the same in the

different countries: and because the figures represented in Egyptian monuments are stiff and motionless like those seen in Hindoo antiquities; many have considered the arts and sciences of Egypt, and in particular its architecture, as derived—*i. e.* imitated—from that of the Hindoos. They have considered the Grottos of the Thebais as children of the excavations of Ellora, and the Pyramids of Egypt as the offspring of the Pagodas of India.

There are not, however, sufficient grounds for these inferences. Those phenomena of nature which are most general, most striking, in every country, and in every country influence the condition of the inhabitants most obviously and extensively, would, in every country alike, become the first objects of observation, scrutiny, record, and science; and as we have seen that architecture, like every other art of utility, must derive essentially out of the peculiar climate, and locality, and productions of the country where it arises, it must consequently, even where equally original and native in two different countries, offer certain coincidences, according to the degree in which these countries possess these features in common with each other, even though intercourse or communication should not have occurred between them.

Egypt, like India, is possessed of a hot climate; of a river rising in high mountains, and yearly overflowing its lower banks, on which the inhabitants depend for their annual harvests; of an alluvial soil, intersected, for the sake of necessary irrigation, by numerous cuts and canals, and produces animals and vegetables of the

same peculiar amphibious and other species. On its waters the *Nymphæa*,\* and along its shores the Banana and Palm Tree, in the same abundance. Around this humid and flat expanse rises a circle of arid rocks, fit only for the shelter of goods and stores, for habitations of the living, for receptacles of the dead, and consequently producing in its inhabitants similarity in their modes of life and methods of industry, in their topics of hope or fear, of amusement, study, or contemplation. Thus each presents with the other coincidences remarkable, but accounted for by the nature of the regions in which they exist. Moreover, in all countries alike, in the infancy of architecture, inability to enclose a vast expanse of space, and to combine solidity with lightness, produces massiness in the parts within, and slope on those without.

In like manner, in the infancy of sculpture, incapacity to seize and embody the ever-changing appearances of movement and expression engenders rigidity of limbs and immobility of features, and thus we may explain these points of similarity. We cannot, therefore, in Egyptian art, especially in architecture, find any circumstance to warrant us in contesting its claim to originality, or in considering it as derived, much less as imitated, from that of the Hindoos.

In fact, if in Egyptian art we see some resemblances to that of India, which might induce the suspicion of

\* China possesses, equally with Egypt, its lotus, which figures in all its dressed gardens. It is that kind which resembles most the Egyptian; but the extremities of its petals, instead of being of a lilac colour, are pink.

affiliation, we see other differences which wholly disprove it. In the architecture of India, the most stupendous works are those excavations in the solid rock, in the execution of which patience and perseverance form the chief requisite; in which little mechanical skill is required; of which a single long-lived hermit has, sometimes, produced wonderful specimens. It possesses few monuments insulated all round, and raised from the ground, of great magnificence or difficult execution. The Egyptians, as stupendous in their excavations as the Hindoos, are far more so in those edifices, like the Temples of Thebes, and the Pyramids of Memphis, raised on the surface of the ground, in which blocks of stone of immense weight, conveyed to an immense distance from the quarry, elevated to a surprising height, and cut and interwoven with others in the most ingenious and solid manner, imply mechanical powers, and skill of the highest description, of which the Hindoo buildings give no example. All the excavations of Elephantas and Ellora united, imply less skill in mechanics than does the small chapel of Minerva, brought from Upper Egypt to Sais, which only measured twenty-one cubits in length, by fourteen in width, and eight in height; or than the cell of Latona, equally conveyed many miles to Butus, whose dimensions were of forty cubits only every way, but each of which were of a single stone, hollowed out into the requisite shape. Of Egyptian architecture, moreover, the forms, the outlines, are wholly different in their details; and while in Hindoo monuments the same mouldings are repeated to ex-



cess, and conceived in the extreme of insipidity and heaviness, those in Egyptian architecture are beautifully varied and contrasted. In India, likewise, the figures often show a preposterous reduplication of limbs, never seen in those of the Egyptians. Those in *basso relievo* rise entirely from the ground, while, in Egyptian monuments they are, for the sake of better preservation, sunk under its surface; and, while the stiffness of the Hindoo figures seems entirely owing to the infant state of art, (of which there is no exception), that of the Egyptians is accompanied by circumstances which prove it to be less the effect of the inability of the artists, than of those laws which prevented them from varying the original forms and attitudes, in a country where, as the written language was symbolical, it was deemed important thus to legislate, that, in process of time, the meaning might not become unintelligible through the changes in the representative figures. Many of those that are very coarse in their limbs and extremities, are exquisitely wrought in the features; and now and then we find a figure of an animal, or even a human being, finished with truth and beauty, which we should in vain seek in India, and which proves in the Egyptians a great though repressed superiority of skill.

But however much the Egyptian architecture appears thus obliged to give up the claim of more primeval origin, which it would possess if its own evident antiquity were still preceded by an earlier antiquity in the Hindoo architecture, its parent, and, on the other hand, may assert its greater originality,—the

similarity of circumstances, which has been before stated, seems to have imparted to the architecture of the latter much coincidence with that of the former. Like the tribes which descended from Thibet, those which glided down from the well watered mountains of Ethiopia found a narrow but fertile soil, fitted for husbandry, but exposed to a scorching sun, and bounded by a ridge of rocks which were capable of affording them a cool retreat. Thus they sought food from the one, and shelter from the other. They remained deposited, after their death, in the habitation in which they had passed their lives. Thus, in the north of Africa were formed excavations similar to those of the south of Asia; and, as along the banks of the Ganges and Barampooter, so with the course of the Nile, were dug those subterranean cities, which, having served as dwellings for the living, were converted into sepulchres for the dead.

And in Egypt, as in India, where a sustenance easily acquired caused a population rapidly increasing to quit the vicinity of the mountains, and to spread over the more distant plains; its inhabitants gradually were compelled, instead of burrowing under the ground, to build at its surface; to reserve the solid, but heavy stone, which must be sought from afar, and conveyed, and wrought, and raised, at a great expence, for edifices of exalted and permanent necessity, and to employ in buildings of a more unimportant sort, and for more transient purposes, those lighter materials, the slime and the rushes, which their waters yielded in such abundance; and thus, in the latter, to pass from the

greatest degree of massive durability to a construction most slight and perishable.

In fact, in a country where, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, every class alike, in view of the shortness of man's earthly existence, made it a rule to attach little importance to earthly comforts, and to take little trouble about earthly splendour; and, while only giving to the transitory haunts of living man the appellation of inns, solely to regard as permanent the abodes of the dead: and thence, while totally indifferent to the insignificance of their mansions, only to be intent on giving the utmost solidity and durability to their receptacles when dead, and to the temples of the immortal Gods, the private dwellings of every class, high as well as low, rich as well as poor, seem to have been made alike of the same flimsy materials; and only for the public monument of science, meeting place for worship, temple, reservoir, or catacomb, was the huge block of solid stone or granite, with incredible labour, conveyed from the bowels of the mountain, to the outskirts of the plain: and thence no doubt, it happens, that on the site of their most glorious cities, and where we see the remains of public edifices of immense magnitude, no trace of private buildings can be found; as soon as civilisation ceased, these latter, formed of mud and rushes, must soon, by the periodical inundations, have been swept away, and made to return to the bosom of those waters, whence they first arose.\*

\* Diodorus Siculus says that the earliest dwellings of the Egyptians were of reeds and canes interwoven; and Herodotus remarks that wood in that country was scarce, even for fuel.

To talk of Egyptian architecture, at least in its public monuments, is to discuss what, in respect of size, of integral component parts, and solidity of whole, is most astonishing. The descriptions which Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus give of the constructions of ancient Egypt, would appear wholly incredible, if it were not that, in spite of the ages since gone by, and the more active injuries of the later inhabitants, who turned some of these into fresh quarries for inferior buildings, and only left others undemolished in order to build on their single tops, as on the summits of so many rocks, whole villages, looking like beasts of prey perched on the carcass of a giant, a sufficiency of them subsist to bear witness to the veracity of these writers.\* Perhaps it may not be useless to tarry an instant, in the progress of this history, to enquire how the rulers of a narrow slip of land—of the mere margins of a single river, only capable of cultivation as far as its alluvial soil reached, or could continue to receive, naturally or artificially, the yearly overflow of its waters—and that narrow valley hemmed in on both sides by deserts and at its extremity by a sea on which its natives never ventured, and from their peculiar religion and prejudices, cut off from all trade and intercourse with foreign nations,—could, without oppressing their subjects, raise in such numbers masses so stupendous, that many a single one would, at present, defy the means and power of the greatest potentate of the earth, of him whose smallest province should exceed in size the whole dominion of Egypt's Pharaohs.

\* The temples of Luxor bear an Arab village.

I say, without oppressing their subjects ; for Cheops, the builder of one of the pyramids, is the only one who has been so much as accused, by the priests, of tyranny to defray the expense.\* All the other founders of equally stupendous edifices—Cheops's own brother and successor, Cephrenes—could afford to raise a second pyramid of equal magnificence ; and after Cephrenes, Mycerinus, who still added a third, has been mentioned without obloquy and even with praise for this achievement ; and, even in regard to Cheops himself, the accusation of irreligion, coupled with that of tyranny, makes it probable that he only incurred the latter, by seeking in the pockets of the priesthood themselves, from whom he derived this imputation, his supplies, rather than in those of the nation at large.

\* Cheops, finding in the Egyptian calendar too many holidays, and too few days of labour, took the liberty of reducing the number of the former, to hasten the progress of his work. The priesthood lost, by this reduction, a part of the usual sacrifices, and represented this prince as the worst of men, and most tyrannical of sovereigns. In the artless recital of Herodotus, the motives of the priesthood betray themselves ; for while he is represented as compelling the people to work for him by an act of the most unheard of oppression, they admit that he paid their labour, by allowing that he exhausted his treasury in the undertaking. Cephrenes, who, notwithstanding the exhaustion of his brother and predecessor's resources, contrived to raise another pyramid, was still persecuted by the priesthood for neglecting to re-establish the festivals abolished by his brother, but Mycerinus, son of this monarch, who, besides raising another pyramid, was guilty of atrocious crimes, was not mentioned in terms of condemnation, because he re-opened the temples, and renewed the superfluous festivals. Neither was Asgekis, who, by the splendour of the temple of Vulcan, and his brick pyramid, sought to outshine all his predecessors, or the constructors of the thirty other pyramids which rise successively along the course of the Nile, blamed for tyranny or profusion.

To explain this phenomenon, it must be considered that the soil of Egypt is so fertile, as, unless during the yearly overflow of the Nile, never to want repose, and with the slightest culture to produce two plentiful crops of corn and vegetables ; that the mildness of the climate induced the inhabitants almost entirely to dispense with clothing and habitation ; that they were content with water for their beverage ; that little flesh was consumed, and few cattle used for draught ; that a small portion of the land was therefore diverted from the production of an abundant and nutritious vegetable food ; that the waters, natural and artificial, rivers, canals, and tanks, yielded equal abundance in the quantity of fish that filled their basins, and of water that fertilised the soil ; that of this food every individual in Egypt, from the natural abstinence produced by the climate, the religion, and the dietetic laws, did not perhaps consume, singly, as much by two-thirds as would be required by a more voracious northern appetite ; that thus the country might, perhaps, feed twice as many individuals as a similar extent in Europe could have done ; and that in Egypt, where, from the fineness of the climate, even the greatest part of the inhabitants of the land had only dwellings of the most circumscribed description, and some none at all, and where as many swam in boats on the water as resided in hovels on the land, there might be room for three times as many inhabitants as, with the closest pressure, could be huddled together in a country of similar extent on this side the Mediterranean ; that, consequently, Egypt teemed with human life as it did with insects ;

and that this incredible population, scarce obliged to toil for the small supply of food it wanted, which arose almost spontaneously, and for the apparel, and habitations, and other conveniences which are necessary to us, but with which it could dispense, or which could be sufficiently supplied by a few palm or banana leaves, some mud, and some bulrushes, must have had so much leisure, and have required such small wages, that the kings and the priests could, no doubt, employ, on terms comparatively easy, the great number of labourers which their immense undertakings demanded. Perhaps, instead of wanting the artificers for the works, and oppressing the nation in order to raise these, with a population so redundant and so close pressed, and otherwise so idle, among whom might easily have arisen a fermentation destructive of their authority, these monuments were only devised to occupy the people; and the superstitious veneration for the gods, and care of the dead, only instilled, to make that people submit with readiness to their tasks, and abstain from threatening the existence of the living.

## CHAPTER III.

## ORIGIN OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE GREEKS.

A FOURTH stream of human beings, equally different from each of the three enumerated,—from the Tartars who descended eastwards into China, and the Thibetians, who flowed southwards into Hindoostan, and from the Ethiopians, who penetrated northwards into Egypt; under the name of Scythians—coming probably from the region between the Euxine and the Caspian, which from all ages have brought forth the handsomest of the human race,—advanced westward along the shore of the Euxine and its continuations, through a portion of Epirus, and there seem to have made their first halt in the neighbourhood of Dodona. Finding on all sides around them immense forests of stately oaks, possessed of too active a mind to content themselves with a small hole for their retreat, or a tree still standing, and perhaps alive, they first detached a certain number of these vegetable giants from their roots, and laid them prostrate on the ground, ere they again raised them into a single habitation.

This structure, however, was determined in all its forms by the materials found. The floor, required to raise it above the damp of the ground, was probably



contrived with trunks laid transversely. The supports were raised with stems, placed perpendicularly at certain intervals, where only distant points of bearing were required for the roof, and apertures necessary for ingress left open ; and where, for retirement, for protection, or for shelter, close and continued walls were wanted, the intervals were probably filled up with clay or wicker-work. The posts were at their top tied together, longitudinally and latitudinally, by superimposed beams, whose extremities rested on their summits, and whose interstices permitted light to penetrate from without, sufficient for internal purposes ; and the ultimate covering was formed by slighter rafters lying on these beams, and themselves supporting another layer of leaves, or planks, or other substances, which from its centre received an inclination either way, to carry off the wet ;\* and thus arose in the hut, made entirely of vegetable matter, an edifice equally different in materials and in form from the tent made of hides, and from the grotto dug in stone, and holding a sort of middle station, between the extreme lightness of the one and massiveness of the other.

When, subsequently, these Scythians were forced, by their growing numbers, to descend, to spread, to leave the deep soil and dark forests of Epirus, for the more southern parts of Greece, of which the vast re-

\* Homer alludes very pointedly to the beams that form the perpendicular roof of these edifices, sloped outwards till over its centre they met at an angle, when, describing Ajax and Ulysses going to wrestle, he compares to this method of construction their arms elevated, and their hands firmly grasping each other.

servoirs of water formed in the higher regions of Asia, had, by successively breaking their barriers and flowing into lower basins, and by frequent consequent inundations, almost stripped the rocky skeleton of its slight covering of earth, and where, accordingly, low shrubs formed the only vegetation, they were compelled to renounce building in wood, and now began to use for their constructions the stone and marble which they found so much more plentifully.

## CHAPTER IV.

INFLUENCE UPON ARCHITECTURE OF HABIT AND  
RELIGION.

IT might be supposed, at first sight, that where circumstances required a change of materials, those particular forms and combinations which, necessary in the first kind, became superfluous in the last, would in these be omitted; but this supposition would be erroneous, because it would leave out of its calculations one of the principles most powerful in its influence over the actions of man, that force of habit, which, when a certain cause has long compelled him to do or experience a peculiar thing, so disposes his organs, sense, and action to it, as still to make him seek its continuation, while no very powerful motives counteract that inclination. Thence in every country where new productions of nature were adopted in buildings, the shapes and modifications which had arisen from, and were found necessary in those first adopted, still continued to be, in those of the new sort, preserved, or rather imitated; and policy and religion seemed even to give to this method the sanction which might be thought denied to it by reason. It was a manner of reminding the nation of its past origin, its earliest in-

fancy, its primitive arts. It was connected with the worship of the gods, from whom these were always supposed to be derived ; with the first scenes of divine revelations ; with the first sanctuaries and places of worship ; with all that could produce associations of ideas, most interesting and most powerful. Religion and worship have, in all ages and conditions of human nature, exerted a powerful influence on architecture.

From this universal propensity to retrace, in the later method of construction, the forms of the earlier materials, we see that of the Chinese still resemble, in all its parts, those of the tents, its original type. In the wooden pillars, destitute of marked bases and capitals, which support the ceilings in such numbers, we see the poles ; in the roofs which, from these pillars, project so far, convex alike in their spine, their sides, and ribs—the awning of hides or pliant stuffs, spread over ropes and bamboos ; in the curling spikes that fringe their eaves—the hooks and fastenings ; in the lowness, and spread, and clustering of the different parts—the whole form, and appearance, and character belonging to the residences of the herdsmen their ancestors. Chinese houses seem to cling to posts which, when planted in the ground have struck root and become fixed. The palaces only look like a number of collected awnings, and the very pagodas, or towers, in their loftiness, are nothing more than a number of tents, piled on the top, instead of standing by the side of each other. The aggregated dwellings, from the smallest village to imperial Peking itself, in their distribution, resemble nothing but a camp ; and when Lord

Macartney, after crossing the whole of the Chinese empire, from south to north,—from Canton to the great wall, its furthest length,—was, on the borders of Tartary, received by the Emperor in a real tent, he scarcely perceived any difference to exist between it and the millions of stationary buildings he had viewed.

Even that other swarm from the Tartar hive, which, in a wholly opposite and westward direction, by degrees penetrated to, and, under the name of Turks, overwhelmed the Greek empire, distant as are its dominions, separated by the whole width of Asia from those of the Chinese monarch, enables us to retrace, in its stationary dwellings, the form of the portable tent of its Nomadic ancestors. I speak not of the mosques, the caravanserais, the baths, and other public buildings, which they possessed not in their primitive roving state, and which, when they became fixed, were designed for them by the Greeks, their new subjects, after their own fashion, and surmounted by the Byzantine dome or cupola. I allude to the private habitation. This latter, from the tent roof of the meanest cottage, to the porch of the grandest kioschk or palace, in its low spreading expanse, its widely extending eaves, broken at various angles, and supported by numerous pillars, and almost reaching to the ground, still strikingly recalls the same model, and differs little in shape and distribution from the real imperial tent, which, on the breaking out of every new war, is solemnly erected in the plains of Daoud Pasha.

As the architecture of the Chinese, derived from a prototype light and portable, still, in heavier materials,

reproduces the original form, so the architecture of the Hindoos, (I speak of that seen in the excavations of Ellora, and temples of Elephantis and Benares, a style which should not be confounded with that other frequently seen beside or mixed with it introduced by the Mohammedans, and displaying light and lofty domes and cupolas,) even in forms somewhat less ponderous, represents the cavern dug in the solid rock, or the materials extracted from the bosom of that rock, when again at the surface of the ground, piled up in a pyramidal shape.

And in the architecture of the ancient Egyptians, derived from the same origin, the preservation of this same form is peculiarly striking. Its temples, its mausoleums, all its subsisting remnants every where afford traces of the void cut in the live rock, and the dis-severed fragments again raised around the vacant space. Not merely the catacombs, but the edifices springing aloft from the ground, in the spread of their base, in the slope of their sides, in the overhanging of their brow, in the mass of their solid parts, in the smallness and lowness of their apertures, in the thickness and shortness of the pillars that support these, resemble the ridge of rock only partially pierced, or the insulated mountain rising from its wide base and tapering to a narrow apex.

In the Greek edifice of stone and marble, however large in its dimensions, however sumptuous in its details, the form of the primitive cabin of stems and foliage of trees in which it originated was, to the last era of Greek independence, preserved with the more

scrupulous and religious fidelity, because the Greeks conceived this peculiar shape as stamping the truth of that title of *Αυροχθονες*, or aboriginal possessors of the soil, on which they set so high a value. The hut of Pelasgus, the last entirely wooden cottage in Arcadia, remained the unvarying model of every subsequent fabric in stone and marble, however stupendous, which arose throughout Greece. Every later improvement for use, every more elaborate addition for ornament, unimitative or imitative, which was displayed in these, only appeared as a supplement to this fundamental form, in no way allowed to alter or conceal it; nay, in proportion as the edifice was of a more public, more important description, more connected with the origin, the history, the religion, the policy of the nation, the resemblance to the wooden hut might even be said to be more ostentatiously preserved. Nowhere did it show itself in characters more marked than in that magnificent temple at Athens, dedicated to the patron deity of the city, to her to whom it owed its name, its arts, its welfare, and its splendour. And as of the rude cabin of stems, and branches, and leaves of trees, in which originated the architecture of the Greeks, the different component parts were, from the first, so much more numerous and varied, and complex, and definite in their peculiar shape and combination than those of either the tent or the excavation, the similitude comprehending many more details, continued infinitely more striking throughout every later superadded embroidery.

So much, indeed, does every style of architecture

belonging to a particular race begin by being conformable to the local exigencies and productions, and thence requisite modes of construction, of the regions and climates in which it originates, that should we still, in any country, discover a manner entirely peculiar, wholly original, fundamentally different from those here described, we may be sure that its singularities have at some time proceeded from a temperature, or a locality, or a material, or a system of customs and manners peculiar to themselves, and altogether different from those of other nations here mentioned.

How the civilization of the Chinese from the rude and primitive state from which, like that of all other nations, it must have originally started, should, through an internal force, (such as all their forms, institutions, arts, and sciences, by their difference from those of other nations, show to have existed in them,) and not through the power of mere imitation, have arrived at so high a pitch of refinement as that which it appears to have attained; and should then—without being by foreign conquest, or any other violent revolution, overwhelmed, and destroyed, and unravelled into its original component elements, or without any other cause, adequate to the effect produced, sufficiently obvious to have attracted the notice of the historian—have by some means, powerful, imperceptible, and latent, as if by an attack of palsy, a sudden but total failure of the original impulse, been completely arrested in its course, and during the lapse of ages been made to remain wholly stationary, seems one of the problems in history most difficult to solve. Perhaps it is only in the de-



iciency of a proper channel for the communication of ideas, which could not be supplied by the intricacies of a written language remaining to this time entirely symbolical, and turning the whole capacity of the mind to the study, not of things, but of their mere representative signs, and consequently to a pursuit both arduous and sterile, which impedes instead of cherishing every more prolific development of intellect, that the question may be met by a solvent sufficiently powerful, yet sufficiently destitute of obvious symptoms.

Be that as it may, the architecture of the Chinese experienced the fate of all their other arts. That style which, perhaps, at the outset was carried to a great degree of refinement, which certainly, of all others, spread that refinement over the most extensive region and most thickset population, which altogether has not only been extended the most widely, but lived the longest, in as much as, the first-born, the first-matured, to this day it continues to live, to flourish, to be supported, and reproduced in newly rising edifices, appears with the tenacity of life, of the lichen, and the moss, also to possess their low vital energy. Though not killed by those revolutions which destroy nobler edifices, as they do nobler plants, it is never seen to grow into new, and finer, and more stately forms—into modifications different from those which it presented two thousand years ago.

The most fully extinct, however, is that of the Egyptians— their religion, their very race, exist no longer. Their edifices are regarded with abhorrence, as works of enchanters and evil spirits, by every native

of the present day. It is doubtful whether certain of the Ptolemies, still in compliment to the nation on which they had been ingrafted, erected, or completed, or added to its temples, in the style of the original builders. It is quite certain that after their time no single building arose of an earlier style than that since called Roman.

The Greek style alone, as we shall show, not only has continued to live and to flourish to this day, but from its singular vital force to show such a number of different successive transformations, that it has assumed a wholly different form; that most people refuse to recognise in its last developments the uninterrupted descent from its first principles.

## CHAPTER V.

NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE DIFFERENT ORDERS  
OF GRECIAN ARCHITECTURE.

HOWEVER much the Greeks, during the period of their independence, continued faithful in the essential members of their architecture to the form of the wooden hut, it is not to be supposed that a nation so lively, so full of imagination, could be so slavishly restricted by that form, as not to bestow upon it all the additions, all the ornament of which it was susceptible.

Indeed, out of the very destination of certain buildings, out of the functions performed in them, out of the wish to mark those purposes, and that distinction more forcibly—to give the beholder an idea of their nature and importance—to impress him with reverence for the office to which they were destined, or the person to whose honour they were dedicated, and to remind him of his own duties in regard to that office and person, arose gradually, in edifices of stone, many imitations totally distinct from those of the wooden hut, which afterwards became added to and inserted between these.

Thus, in the temples of certain deities, in whose

honour garlands of peculiar flowers or fruits were hung round their altars, or the horns of peculiar animals sacrificed to them, suspended from the pillars that supported their throne, or their skulls placed on the beams that encircled their sanctuary, or certain instruments of sacrifice and worship displayed, or certain uses and ceremonies appointed,—these emblems, found by experience to be of a nature too perishable to serve for lasting commemorations, were reproduced and eternised in stone and marble, in the same place where the originals were wont to be displayed.

Thus in Asia Minor, at Theos, we see the magnificent temple of Apollo, adorned with the chief objects, real and symbolical, dedicated to the son of Latona,—the lyre, the tripod, and the griffin; and thus at Athens, in the astronomical edifice called Temple of the Winds, we see, in each of the eight compartments of its octagon, the personification of one of the eight winds; round the choragic monument of Lysicrates, the representation of the dire effect of the contempt of music: in the temple of Victory, at the entrance of the Acropolis, the assault of the Amazons,—on that very spot experienced and repelled: in the Metopes of the temple of Theseus, the founder of Athens, vanquishing the Lapithæ: in the belt round the cella of the temple of Minerva, the biennial procession of the *Παναθηναία*, which issued from and walked round that very edifice, and on the pediment of the same temple, the contest supposed to have taken place between Neptune and Minerva, for the honour of naming the new city.

Nay, to these imitative additions, intended as it were

for some direct useful purpose, were even added many other modifications, either like simple mouldings and meanders, wholly unimitative, or, like foliage, flowers, parts of animals, and of human beings, imitative, but offering in their imitation nothing allusive to the peculiar building to which they are attached, and introduced merely to increase their elegance.

Some drops of rain, distilled from the ends of the rafters that projected over an architrave, so pleased an architect that he added them as permanent ornaments to his Doric triglyph: a few rams' horns, suspended from the top of a pillar, so struck the imagination of another, that he formed out of them the new combination, since called the Ionic capital, but which, in ancient buildings, is often united to the Doric entablature; and a wild acanthus, accidentally lodged on the top of an ancient sepulchral cippus, and with its foliage embracing a basket placed on the pillar, and compelled to curl down by the tile that covered the basket, so charmed a third (Callimachus of Corinth), that, without altering essentially the other parts of the Ionic combination, he substituted it as a new capital.

In fact, the most essential and marked of these additions to the form imitative of the wooden hut by degrees became consolidated into three express combinations, each individually distinguished from the two others, and each more prevalent than other less striking arrangements, and took their distinctive denominations from the races or the ramifications to which their origin was ascribed. Of these, that peculiar one which is regarded as the oldest, the most primitive, and which,

in fact, reproduces all the members of its parent, the wooden hut, most faithfully and minutely, and thence, so far from being in its great features the simplest and easiest to execute, is, in fact, in its essential parts, the most complicated and difficult to manage, was that called Doric. The second in point of reputed antiquity, that in which the volutes were added to the capital, and the ends of large cross beams, called triglyphs, omitted in the entablature, or those of smaller rafters (sometimes under the name of dentiles) substituted, was called Ionic. The third, considered the last of all, in which the capital was again lengthened, and surrounded by foliage, terminating in scrolls, was denominated the Corinthian; and I should observe that these two latter orders, though from their less early birth they naturally offer in their ornamental, and, as it were, arbitrary appendages, more richness and delicacy, and other characteristics of increased luxury and refinement, in their essential parts, from adhering less to the close imitation of the timber frame, and being more adapted to the simpler exigencies of the later construction in stone, offer more simplicity, and tractability, and adaptability to every species of form and distribution than the former. In the progress of architecture, as in other things, increase of science has often produced additional simplicity.

Besides these three orders, intrinsically more striking, more frequently employed by architects, and more celebrated by authors, Grecian buildings still offer more, such as that with straight water-leaves round the

capital, which flanks, at Athens, the door-way of a monument.

Nay, sometimes, instead of the column and the pilaster, they present imitations of animals and human beings, as supports to architectural members,—witness, at Athens, the Pandrosium ; a building at Sparta ; at Agrigentum, the roof of the temple of Jupiter Olympius ; and at Salonica, the building now called the Incantada.

Some modern architects,—whether from ignorance, from prejudice, from narrowness of conception, perhaps from idleness or timidity, from the wish, after they had once made their election of a peculiar order, no longer to have the trouble of modifying its various lesser component parts according to the different nature and situation of different buildings, and to disburden themselves of all further responsibility as to the effect of the order, screen themselves behind the authority of its original authors, and to say to the person who might find fault with the effect of any ornaments or proportions as applied, “Such is the rule,”—have given for each of the three principal orders of ancient Greece certain fixed forms and measurements, subject to no modifications in view of time and place, and having between each in particular, and the two others, in point both of shape and relation of parts, intervals very wide and definite.

The reason alleged for thus defining the exact proportions of each order was a certain analogy to some others belonging to the human body in each dis-

tinct modification ; namely, those of the Doric to the adult male ; those of the Ionic to the matronly female ; and those of the Corinthian to the youthful virgin, a doctrine held forth by Vitruvius, and resting on the authority and practice of the architects his predecessors.

I can hardly bring myself seriously to refute any portion of this reasoning. For, firstly, in the very proportions of the different specimens of each of the three original general types thus arbitrarily and whimsically assumed, nature, instead of offering one single undeviating sameness, displays a great many different shades and gradations all consistent with the use and with the beauty of the members in which we observe them. This we may see exemplified among the representations of art, in the degrees of difference that separate the brawny and muscular proportions of the Farnese Hercules from those of the Fawn nursing the infant Bacchus, and from these again, those of the Belvidere Apollo, which latter have in their greatest swells, in proportion to their length, scarce half the span of the former. Secondly, however much the proportions of the different orders of architecture may have been compared with those of the different modifications of the human frame, merely for the sake of illustration, not very felicitously, when the entablature is to stand for the head, and the pedestal for the feet, nor even very explicitly, when by some, the entablature and pedestal, and by others, the less distant capital and base, have been considered as the representatives of the two human extremities ; and however



much, in reality, some of the minor subdivisions of architecture, such as steps, seats, and balustrades, especially destined for the ease of certain human limbs, should in every style alike offer a peculiar reference to the average proportions of those limbs, those parts, considered as constituting the elementary and essential characteristics of the three principal Greek orders, which are intended to support over his head a roof of indefinite height, have no relation whatever to the proportions of his body which should limit the architect in the modification of their forms, or should induce him to sacrifice any portion of that utility and beauty adapted to their precise destination, in order to maintain an imaginary and unprofitable analogy.

Even in those orders did forms and proportions exist, which, without attempting an impossible imitation of members of the human frame, are, nevertheless, rendered so invariable and fixed as to admit of no difference of shades in their richness or their robustness, according to the infinite varieties of destination, or character, or situation of the buildings, or parts of such, to which they are applied, — these, from their unbending nature, must lose all the harmony which we find in the nice adaptation of the ornamental and arbitrary additions to the object for which they are intended, and in the clearness and felicity with which they announce and express its precise purpose and character. Thence, if the Greeks themselves, those who certainly were the best judges of what was required by the orders they had invented, and had the best right to dispose of these in all their parts, had

restricted themselves to such rules, they would voluntarily have renounced, without any motive, any compensation for the sacrifice, a great part of the beauties of which they were susceptible.

But every later and more minute admeasurement of the vestiges of their best era remaining, prove more fully that such a practice was wholly averse from their principles; that far from doing this, the nation which had had genius enough to invent the three orders which to this day form the admiration of the world, and have never since been improved upon, had judgment enough to vary their secondary forms and proportions according to circumstances, — sense and taste enough not to burden themselves in the pursuit of beauty by trammels of their own creating.

They might according as each of the different orders, taken in its whole, offered an appearance more antiquated and severe, and congenial with their rudest and most distant origin and history, or, on the other hand, more modern, and refined, and doubtful, consecrate each more particularly to peculiar deities, in view of the analogies with their own characters. To Jupiter, the father of gods and men; to Juno, his wife and sister; to Minerva, the pure offspring of his intellect or brain, and the ancient patroness of Athens, they might more especially dedicate the massive, primitive, and sedate Doric. In the fanes of the gayer Apollo, the Bacchus of later date, and more luxurious habits, displaying more affinity to the female character, as Minerva did to the male, they might by preference employ the Ionic, equally ambiguous; and the shrines

of Venus might be marked by the order invented in the city where that goddess had her most beautiful and most celebrated priestesses. But still the Greeks reserved to themselves the right of giving to each form more restricted or multiplied, more simple or rich, and proportions more sturdy or delicate, according to the peculiar exigencies of the edifice or situation. To so great a degree was this their practice, that in these respects between each order and the two others an almost insensible transition exists, and that every individual, instead of uniformly maintaining a vast interval between itself and the two others, such as all extreme specimens of every style present, borders closely upon the next in succession, and almost appears amalgamated with it.

In some instances they were seen not merely to advance to the utmost verge of the confines of their neighbours, but even to cross their borders, and each to infringe upon the usual forms and average proportions of the next.

In many Grecian buildings of the best era we see omitted some of those very parts which the moderns have accustomed themselves to regard as the essential characteristics of peculiar orders, and as inseparable from their other features. In the cella of the Parthenon, the Doric frieze appears without its triglyphs; in the portico of the Temple of Erectheus, the Ionic cornice wants its dentiles; and in that monument, most elegant and most descriptive of the history of the Corinthian order, the choragic monument of Lysicrates, the capital wants its smaller set of volutes. In

other buildings we see the characteristics of two different orders in indissoluble wedlock. We regard the tomb of Jehoshaphat at Jerusalem as a monument of the time of the Romans; and we cannot well, in the opposite shore of the Mediterranean, in the tomb of Thero, at Agrigentum, which shows the same particular features, refuse recognising a Greek edifice; and the Doric of the Temple of Neptune at Corinth, and the same order of the Temple of Juno at Nemea, differ as much in their proportions as the statues of the Farnese Hercules and of the Belvidere Apollo.

But if the Greeks admitted not those arbitrary rules invented by the moderns, which serve only to lessen the beauties of architecture, they had been led, by a happy organization for and a profound study of its conditions, to adopt a great many others founded in nature itself, but unknown to or unobserved by us, which enriched it materially.

Thus for those public edifices of an important description, destined by their size and situation to be seen from afar as well as near, and requiring from their character and purpose to impress the eye and mind with that grandeur on the first view, as well as their elegance on the nearest inspection, they seem to have adopted, as it were, two different sets of members and details, — the one very bold, very projecting, and thereby calculated to produce an effect at those distances at which the complete building might be contemplated, while its subdivisions must escape the eye; the other, on the contrary, very delicate, very minute, very little relieved, and thereby enabled, where from

the proximity the former could no longer be sufficiently embraced in their general outline and ampler beauties, to start up, as it were, in their place, to arrest the eye, to arouse and to gratify the sensations of the mind by their refinement, as do the minuter plants of the forest in their recesses, where we can no longer survey, in their extended magnificence, the swelling of the oak, or the tapering of the cedar. In fact, instances may be shown of temples where the bases of the columns are so lofty, that their superior surface is elevated above the level of the eye, which consequently rested on the inferior surface of their vast projecting mouldings. These latter are, therefore, subdivided into a number of smaller strings and fillets, evidently destined to be admired at a distance, where the eye could not embrace the edifice, and where, but for these details, the pedestals must have appeared heavy, clumsy masses.

Accurate measurements have shown, that very lofty columns had often, at a certain height, a swell scarcely perceptible to the eye, but intended to obviate, at that elevation, the effect of a too abrupt fore-shortening; or again, that in the same portico the different columns, as being destined to be seen against light or shadow, they would have their diameter apparently lessened, received in a real but imperceptible increase of size, a proportionate compensation.

I need not here dwell upon the perfection they gave to every part of their edifices, essential and ornamental, which went so far, in certain temples, that, as if impressed with a feeling purely religious, — with an idea

that the Deity beheld what escaped the human eye, and that every part alike should be rendered worthy of that immortal Being to whom the fabric was consecrated,—they even finished highly those parts of statues and bas-reliefs which in friezes and pediments were turned from the beholders towards the body of the building, and could never be seen while the sculpture remained in its place, and have only been exposed to scrutiny since the downfall of the temples to which they belonged.

## CHAPTER VI.

NATURAL AND ADVENTITIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES BY  
WHICH GRECIAN ARCHITECTURE WAS AFFECTED.

ANCIENT Greece was affected, not only in the first origin, but in the subsequent modifications of its various states, by certain peculiar circumstances which gradually influenced her architecture, partly by hastening, partly by retarding, its developments.

In Greece, the mildness of the climate permitted much of the business of the individual, and of the state at large, to be transacted out of doors, under open porticoes, shady arbours, or the mere canopy of heaven ; and the organization and habits of the people seem naturally to have produced in them an indisposition to the use of confined receptacles.

But what the temperature of the atmosphere permitted, and the manners of the nation rendered agreeable, the ignorance of that invention of later times, the arch, and of the use of glass in windows, together with the customs and constitution of the Greek commonwealths, in many cases rendered absolutely necessary. If destined to receive such a roof of stone as should be complete and durable, the area of their temples was not capable of great extension.

To have been made wider, it must either have been

covered in by a roof of wood liable to destruction by fire, or to slow decay, or have remained hypæthral, that is, exposed to the atmosphere, or only screened by some awning or veil.

Even thus they could not conveniently receive the capacity which similar buildings have since derived from the vault. Their space within, unavoidably narrow, was, therefore, as much as possible, compensated for without, in those single and often double colonnades which preceded and surrounded ancient temples, and which, though we are apt to regard them as mere ornaments, were, in fact, intended to shelter and to protect the greatest part of the collected congregation: the temple became a small nut or kernel, contained in a prodigious envelope.

The interior, moreover, in which, for want of glass, the influx of light could not be combined with the exclusion of less welcome elements, in order to avoid exposure, received no daylight but such as made its way through the vast entrance door, or at most through interstices left in the frieze, or through gaps in the awning spread over the open part. If more was required, it was supplied by lamps and torches; and this not being sufficiently intense to admit of great diffusion, was chiefly thrown and concentrated on the principal object—the image of the deity worshipped. The rest of the space within was little lighted, and not subject to minute scrutiny. It could not, therefore, be supposed that the Greeks would employ in its decoration the same pains and resources as on that of the outside.

We must remember in the states of Greece every



citizen shared by right alike both in the public debate and in the public diversion ; entered alike, by right, both the agora and the theatre ; consequently, notwithstanding the smallness of those states, the numbers that flocked to those places, and were to be accommodated in them, greatly exceeded that which, in our larger states, need be admitted into similar edifices. As in these one-half could not, as in the temple, be detained outside, while the other was admitted within, these buildings or places, necessarily made of immense capacity, were as necessarily left uncovered, insomuch that those exhibitions made by us from preference at night, and by artificial light, dramatic entertainments, were, in Greece, displayed in the broad face of day.

Still in a country where natural organization, acquired habits, religion, polity, and every other accessory, led to the fullest development of the imitative arts, to all that painting and sculpture could exhibit of the most fascinating combinations, public edifices, whether destined for religious or other purposes, for business or for pleasure—whether temples or porticoes, theatres or stadia—were decorated, even in the exposed parts, with profusion the more unbounded, because the clear atmosphere exhibited the full beauty, and the mild temperature insured the complete preservation of works of art.

On the other hand, that purely democratic organization of the Grecian states, which raised every citizen to a level with all the rest, — if not in wealth, at least in rank and privileges, which, if any single individual had more influence, was more a leader of a party than

others, made him more afraid lest an ostentatious display of his pre-eminence should awaken their jealousy or mortify their pride,—tended as much to keep private habitations low and unassuming, as it contributed to render public edifices vast and pompous. So imperative was it held on every citizen to avoid in his abode all that might attract the public eye, that Demosthenes regarded the pre-eminence of the house of Midias over the other habitations of Eleusis as a just ground of accusation against him. While the place of worship or debate displayed on all sides externally the most magnificent colonnades, the private dwelling only showed a mere blank surface; and, like a temple inverted, possessed not external columns surrounding a solid body, but enclosed its pillars within its exterior walls.

But that very circumstance produced greater magnificence of public edifices. The citizen, unable to give vent to his pride in his private habitation, only sought the more to gratify it, in the constructions destined to purposes of public magnificence or utility. These latter remained the less confounded with, soared the more over the former. They attained in greater number that size of parts, that splendour of decoration, that has made them the wonder of all succeeding ages. Thus it was that at Athens the temple of Jupiter Olympius was adorned externally with two rows of columns of Penthelic marble, of the Corinthian order; consequently of the utmost height in proportion to their diameter, which at their base exceeded six feet and a half.

The elegance of Grecian architecture increasing progressively, until the age of Pericles, and even of Alexander, probably, at that period, for a while, became stationary. The nation appears never to have departed from the style which, having originated with them, and exhibiting through all the stages of its growth, a strict conformity to the essential elements of the wooden hut, may exclusively be entitled to the appellation of Grecian ; nor does an instance appear, in buildings of any importance, of which the name or remains have reached us, of any admixture with any members of a different description that could not have formed part of their simple ancestor.

## CHAPTER VII.

## ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ARCH.

**ANTIQUARIANS**—a race of men sometimes desirous of showing that, where to others all is darkness, they can see as clearly as in daylight—frequently, in their zeal to investigate and prove some peculiar point, forgetful to ascertain whether it is worth proving, have persuaded themselves they traced the invention of the arch back, not merely to Greece, in its days of independence, but to Egypt and to India.

They have adduced as proofs those ceilings with higher courses of stone projecting over those below, which have, in fact, been found among the mountains of India and of Egypt, as well as in Greece, among the remains of Tyrius and Mycené, two of the earliest cities abandoned by the Greeks, even in the time of their prosperity, and almost before the development of the arts in that country could be said to have begun. If these instances prove the invention of the arch, its honour may, with equal justice, be claimed by Latium; for there, too, among the ruins of the cities, since called Cyclopiàn, of Capernaum, &c., similar examples may be seen.

But this species of construction presents neither the

principle nor the power of the arch ; though it may have led to, or may have been the last intervening link previous to, its invention.

They have also considered the word "tholos," occurring in several Greek writers previous to the era of Alexander, and translated by that of "vault," as deciding the question.

These theorists may possibly and accidentally be right in their surmise, though they do not rest a positive assertion on sufficient grounds, and certainly do not adduce sufficient proofs of its truth. A fortuitous concurrence of circumstances has made many a man invent that which he had not the means to apply ; nay, of which he saw not even the full use and application. Many a discovery has taken place for the first time at a period when, little wanted, it conferred no distinction on its author, and no advantage on others ; when, like a fire kindled without proper fuel to feed the flame, it again went out, or for many ages smouldered in unperceived obscurity, ere fresh wants and fresh means, fanning the latent spark, blew it up into a blaze, when the genius to which it first was owing, had already long been forgotten in the darkness of the grave. And thus, for aught we know, it may have fared with the arch ; which may have been first invented in India, or in Egypt, or in Greece, while yet independent, but when, already stationary, already saturated, as it were, with every species of building, private and public, for business or for pleasure, it wanted and could hold no more ; or when, already declining, and instead of striving to increase its power, rather struggling to maintain its

independence, it could not have erected new edifices had it wanted them, and could not, then, afford the new invention the means to shine forth with unequivocal splendour.

But this is, nevertheless, certain, that if, even by some fortuitous meeting of materials in peculiar relative situations, the embryo of the arch should first have been formed in independent Greece, it there remained, in a manner, dormant and sterile; it received no development; it became not, in her edifices, a marked feature, calculated, by its importance and resources, to change and remodel the whole principle and face of her architecture. On the contrary, the very want of the arch necessitating within and without such buildings as had to shelter a vast concourse of people, their great approximation and multiplicity of columns, for the purpose of bearing masses of stone, at once necessarily short, and yet heavy, rendered those columns an essential part of such buildings, and caused those vast ranges, and various dispositions, which give to the Greek temples their peculiar denominations; such as tetrastyle, hexastyle, octastyle, dipteral, pseudo-dipteral, peripteral, and many others, all taken from the quantity of columns in each range, and the number and arrangement of their different rows.

To the last days of its independence, the architecture of the Greeks, like a bird still unfledged and incapable of soaring in air, showed what some may call its purity, others its deficiencies. To the last, their inability to place any upright supports—whether columns, pillars, piers, jambs, or continued walls, in

places where a covered roof was necessary, at a greater interval than a block of stone or beam of wood might span—generated a degree of narrowness and contraction in their enclosed buildings, and only permitted them to wall in a larger area, on condition of leaving the edifice exposed to the sky. To the last their want of science produced an enormous consumption of materials in proportion to the space obtained. To the last the internal forms of their edifices must, with all the elegance that could be applied to their limited combinations of outlines, have displayed a want of height, an angularity, an absence of that curve and swell which enables the arch, and cupola, and vault, to produce equal variety, connection, and harmony.

## CHAPTER VIII.

DECAY OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE GREEKS, AND  
PROGRESS OF THAT OF THE ROMANS.

THE independence of Greece was fated to have a term. After a struggle of some duration, she fell a prey to the arms, or rather to the intrigue, of Rome, and became a province of the republic. A prætor was sent from Italy to govern her ; and the Greeks, possessed of talent or ingenuity, flocked for employment and reward to their newly-acquired capital.

From a beginning which its historians seem to take a singular pride in representing as mean almost beyond credibility, the Roman state had arisen to a degree of vastness, and power, and wealth, unexampled in the annals of the world. It had, singly, become a conglomeration of all the different lesser states which, in earlier ages, had individually, by their might, their opulence, and their civilization, made a figure in history. The capital was that of all the former capitals of the earth, reduced by its soaring pre-eminence to the rank of secondary and provincial cities. It contained, within its single precincts, the population and the wealth of many districts. Its private citizens, going out as governors



of provinces which once had been empires, after holding in their governments the state of kings, returned home in numbers, with all the wealth of which they had stripped its tributaries, and lived as individuals with the income of monarchs.

Thus, there gradually rose in Rome a demand for buildings on a scale such as the world had never beheld, of public and of private utility; for the business and the diversion of its inhabitants. Indeed, as if by a foreboding of her future grandeur, she seems to have undertaken such before she could want them, and before we can discover any means she could possess for their execution. Those stupendous ducts, those cloaca, which still unimpaired, though now disused; run in every direction under the ground on which the city stands, to an immense distance, are by historians ascribed to the early era of her petty kings. It is equally difficult to believe that, so little removed from their insignificant origin, they should have been able to execute those vast works, as it is, admitting that they were capable of such undertakings, to believe in the poverty and humility of the source from whence they were stated so recently to have arisen.

But what Rome, and, in process of time, Rome alone demanded, by degrees she acquired means to obtain. She became the focus of an accumulation of wealth, compared with which that possessed by any state at any former period, whether the commonwealths of Greece or the empires of Asia, was absolute indigence. She collected their various resources within the circle of her own precincts, and from these she

could again direct their productive powers to any single given point.

Whatever edifices were required for utility or for pleasure in the heart of the capital itself, or in the districts composed of the conglomeration of states once independent, in the secondary seats of a government, whose provinces embraced a far more extensive jurisdiction than had belonged to any of the subjugated nations of which they were composed, such they constructed. Aqueducts, bridges, forums, basilicas, temples, baths, theatres, amphitheatres, stadia, hippodromes, and naumachia, on a scale and with a prodigality which these tributaries never could have contemplated while in a state of independence.

It were an endless task to recite the constructions so well adapted for every useful purpose, for every object of magnificence reared within or in the immediate vicinity of Rome; — aqueducts of prodigious length, which, from the adjacent mountains, carried in every direction streams of the clearest water across its vast plain into its inmost bosom; sewers of indestructible solidity, which again conveyed far away every species of impurity; roads as indestructible as ours are perishable, which from the capital diverged on every side to the utmost confines of the peninsula, and on these roads, bridges, massy and durable, which joined the opposite banks of the widest rivers; forums, or public porticoes, where its population might meet and converse, sheltered from heat and rain, increased in the time of Augustus to the number of forty-five, and which, under Trajan, received the addition of that

forum in which stood his triumphal column, surrounded by a forest of other pillars of granite of a single block of immense height and diameter; baths erected by Augustus, by Nero, by Titus, by Caracalla, and by Diocletian, each containing all that could serve for cleanliness, for health, for exercise, and for amusement, each seeming a palace in splendour, and a city in size, and still by their ruins astonishing the world; basilicas for the administration of justice and the despatch of business, vast and superb beyond description; and even shambles so sumptuous, that on a medal of Nero appears a building inscribed "Macellum Augusti," which, from the richness of its columns, might be mistaken for an amphitheatre; the Circus Maximus for races, whose incredible size and magnificence prevented not several others, little inferior to it, from successively arising; the Amphitheatre of Vespasian, computed to contain 109,000 spectators, of which, after one half had been pulled down in 1084 by the Norman Guiscard, lest it should be used as a citadel against him, and the other half had furnished the popes with materials with which to build the palaces Farnese, of St. Mark, and of the Cancellaria, the remains have struck with amazement the beholders of every successive age; the mausolea of Augustus, of Adrian, and others; the gorgeous palaces of the emperors; the temples without number; the triumphal arches, the architraves, piers, cornices, acroteria of the richest granite, porphyries, and marble, such as to bewilder the imagination that pictures to itself the buildings to which they belonged, rising

spontaneously like plants wherever in a fruitful soil we thrust the spade. Not less remarkable were the buildings erected in every province, far and near:— amphitheatres at Verona, in Cisalpine Gaul, at Arles, and Nismes, and Vienne beyond the Alps; and at Pola, on the Dalmatian shore, almost as stupendous as the Coliseum itself; Asia Minor, adorned by Augustus with several temples of the largest dimensions; Athens itself, endowed by Adrian with a temple of Jupiter Olympius, behind which the loftiest monument of the times of her independence, that consecrated by Pericles to Minerva, hid its diminished head; Antioch, doubled from what it was under its kings; and Alexandria, made in the column, called of Pompey, to forget the lesser prodigality of its Ptolemies; a temple of the sun at Balbeck, of which the mere base contained three stones measuring from back to front, exclusive of the bold and rich cornice, 10 feet 5 inches; from top to bottom 13 feet; and collectively, from end to end, 199 feet; buildings equally astonishing, raised in the Decapolis of Palestine, and in the cities on the coast of Africa, and others not less splendid, erected in different parts of Spain; the bridge on the Danube, and the Pont-du-Gard in Gaul; the prodigious moles of different sea-ports; the gates of Arles, Nismes, Narbonne, Autun, and other cities innumerable, and even in a place scarce noticed in history, at Orange, one of the largest theatres known; and traces of an amphitheatre, and stadium, and naumachia, so stupendous that we can only account for its construction in

that situation by supposing that the spot was one where the whole population of surrounding provinces met periodically for purposes of festivity.

But the buildings of the Romans distinguished themselves from those of the Greeks by a feature less incidental, less vague, more universal, more characteristic, than any superiority of size and splendour; by the introduction of the Arch, which, as we have seen, the Greeks knew not, or, if they knew, did not employ.

As necessity is said to be the mother of invention, probability would assign the very discovery of that useful development of architecture to the Romans, who possessed not, in their vicinity, quarries out of which to cut blocks of stone or marble sufficiently large or sufficiently handsome—who on the muddy banks of the Tiber were more frequently compelled to content themselves with brick,—rather than to the Greeks, who possessed the finest materials in the greatest abundance.

Still it is impossible to prove that the Romans were, or that the Greeks were not, the inventors of the arch. We find it displayed on a vast scale in the great cloaca, at a period when, if existing in Greece, it was in obscurity and concealment, but we observe it likewise in ancient Etruria, from whence the Romans appear to have derived all their earliest arts of industry and elegance, in monuments that seem anterior to the construction of the cloaca and the foundation of Rome; and we must confess that at no period the

inhabitants of Latium seem to have possessed an architecture which, in its peculiar features, might be called aboriginal and exclusive.

Those earliest cities of Latium which existed, which flourished long before Rome, whose splendour was indeed absorbed in that of Rome, which fell when Rome arose, which from the supposition of their having been founded by Saturn, when, on his flight from Crete, he established his empire in Italy, were called Saturnian, such as Ferentinum, Arpinum, Anagni, Alatri, and Actina, as well as those of Preneste, of Cora, and of Segni, like the king from whom they drew their name, afford traces of their Grecian origin. Their huge walls resemble the enormous cyclopean structures of the Greeks at Tyrius and at Mycene; and Arpinum and Segni in particular display apertures or gates whose sides terminate in the same species of sharp point remarkable over the entrance of that building which has been called Agamemnon's tomb in the capital of that early monarch. The style of the edifices constructed at Rome itself, in its first era, and under its kings, was, as well as that of their attire, and all else they possessed, chiefly borrowed from the neighbouring Etrurians, and resembled in form, as in simplicity and solidity, the Etruscan remains around Cortona, Tarquinium, and other Tuscan cities; and when afterwards, to the needful, the Romans attempted to add the ornamental, it was only by re-adorning these primitive buildings with the mangled limbs of Grecian architecture.

Without, then, being able at Rome to arrive nearer

to the solution of that question of mere curiosity — where the arch was first invented — the only fact that we can establish, but a fact essential to the history of the progress, and development, and vicissitudes of Grecian architecture, is, that while the Greeks, in their own country to the last days of their independence, abstained from rendering the arch an essential and integral part of their architecture, the Romans, whether by right of parentage or adoption, from the first era of their appearance, as a peculiar distinct nation, exhibited this new feature.

I have already alluded to the restricted span of architecture in stone, while debarred the use of the arch — to the vast new resources and powers derived from that discovery. Pillars and walls, placed so far asunder that no blocks of stone, no beams of wood can connect them, may by the arch be embraced and combined. An area so spacious that no flat ceiling could cover it, may by the vault be closed in with equal solidity and durability: by means of the vault the expense of cutting, of carrying, of raising masses of immense weight, only to produce small intervening spaces, may be avoided. A less quantity of materials may be spread out over, and render habitable, a much greater space. To form a just estimate of its capabilities, we need but glance at the Pantheon of pagan and Saint Peter's of papal Rome.

Skill in mechanics is a faculty wholly distinct from taste in the fine arts: where the latter exists not, or lies dormant, or retrogrades, the other may still advance, still make great and rapid strides. Thence the

greater exigencies of the Romans, in respect of architecture, the vastér buildings they had to raise and to cover, soon made them seek all the superior means, and develope all the superior powers, of the arch.

In their aqueducts, they multiplied this feature in a seemingly interminable series: in their baths, they gave it a prodigious continued elongation and span. Here over a cylindrical wall they turned concentric arches into a round cupola: there at the end of a square, or around a circular vacant space, they covered semicircles by semidomes. Sometimes they enclosed smaller in larger arches, or, giving to different individuals a different tendency, made them cross and form angles with others differently directed: the cupola itself was occasionally made polygonic. In general they avowed, they gloried in it, they made it the most conspicuous feature in their buildings; but at times, in the portico, and where they affected *Græcism*, they carried it from column to column in a covert way under the concealment of a fictitious architrave.

Every where, however, they made each individual curve describe that complete semicircle, neither at its base elongated beyond, nor terminated short of, its full diameter; nor at its apex interrupted by, and meeting the opposite curve at an angle—a formation which is particularly distinguished for that solidity which the rulers of the eternal city, in every public building, seemed to make their principal object. While, however, the earlier edifices of Rome were constructed in stone, the capabilities of the arch, by degrees more fully recognised, subsequently caused the bodies of



great edifices to be formed in mere brick, while for their coatings were employed more costly marbles.

This universal adaptation of a more varied development gave to Roman architecture, from the first, an internal principle of construction, and an external corresponding feature, which had not been previously contemplated, and caused a departure from the elementary model of the Greeks, in reality, in its essence more important, more fundamental, than that which the style since called Gothic exhibited in descent from the manner of the Romans.

Once admitted into Roman edifices, it soon began to acquire a prevalence inconsistent with the existence of the essential parts of the Grecian architecture, which were henceforward considered as optional and ornamental expletives and additions. The unbending straightness of the architrave, and the arch curvetting from support to support, the roof with sloping sides, and the rounded cupola, could not subsist together, be seen in the same place, at least as parts equally important.

Where no beam or rafter existed within, its extremity could not appear on the external surface, under the name of triglyph or dentile.

Thence the Romans, had they been possessed of a delicate appreciation of the beauties of art, had they been gifted with inventive or imaginative genius, would for their arch have devised some new species of ornamental addition, appearing to belong to its nature and composition.

But such powers they could not boast. Their minds

might be fertile in useful inventions : in those calculated for beauty they were sterile. They were obliged to borrow these from elsewhere, and were not even ashamed of thus confessing their deficiency.

As it has been the fashion to denominate all the architecture found in Greece, not of modern times, Grecian, so it has been to give to that within and around Rome, not of modern ages, the appellation of Roman. And, undoubtedly, if the soil on which an edifice is raised, and, still more, the authority by which it is erected, suffice to assign to it a name, most of the great buildings still subsisting throughout Italy have the amplest title to the name of Roman. At any rate, wherever they offer in the arch a feature avowedly repugnant to the principle of Grecian architecture, they have a right to be distinguished from the genuine buildings that bear that title, even should it be found that, on the Roman soil, Greek architects have directed their construction, and Grecian forms graced their interior.

Still, however the peculiar architecture appearing to the world as Roman might differ in a most essential characteristic from that called Grecian ; if nevertheless, as appears incontestable, the Romans derived the substance of this, as well as of their other arts of industry and elegance, and even their very language, and religion, and rites, from the Etrurian ; and if these, again, as appears little less certain, were only a colony of Greeks, wafted, at a very early period, across the Adriatic to Italy, the Roman architecture may, even in respect to its first origin, claim a Grecian parentage :

the connection seems subsequently to have kept up, by constant fresh importations, constant fresh graftings from the original parent upon the Italian stock. We cannot doubt that the Romans, who were hemmed into the south by more recent, as they were to the north by more early, Greek colonies, who even sought, as far as Greece, proper models for their laws, their language, their poetry, and their drama, in order to derive them more directly from the fountain head, also recurred to their native soil for models of elegance in architecture, even long before she made that country her own. We find Grecian forms, so applied, so connected, as at first sight to show themselves the effect, not of an original principle, but of a superficial imitation, in so early a Roman monument as the peperino tomb of Scipio Barbatus, whose consulship took place in the year of Rome 456, which exhibits the Doric triglyph, surmounted by the Ionic dentile. We follow up the practice of imitating the Grecian outline, after that country had become subject to Rome, in the application from Julius Cæsar, in the very fulness of his power, to the Roman senate, for leave to cover his private Roman dwelling with the fastigium, the pediment of the Grecian temple; and, under the later emperors, we find Greek individuals themselves regularly installed as Roman architects,—witness Vitruvius, who exercised his art under Augustus; and Apollodorus, who fell a sacrifice to the professional jealousy of that Roman imperial artist Adrian.

At Rome, however, this imitation of Grecian architecture, intended merely as an ornamental addition,

could not make head against the innovations when once adopted and known to be more extensively useful, which were peculiar to the imitators and unknown to their prototypes. Even the employment of foreign architects could not effect such a change. However much they might have left Greece fraught with ideas wholly Grecian, they could not on their arrival at Rome set aside a feature so essential as the arch, in order to make the Roman architecture entirely their own. They found in the soil to which they were transplanted, an influence superior to that which they possessed, with which they could not contend, to which they must yield, which making their Attic birth of no avail, compelled them in Latium to erect edifices consistent with the ideas of those who employed them.

Nor could they continue to entertain the feelings which at home would have rendered them desirous of retracing the minute particulars of the wooden hut in the edifice of Rome.

This image, so dear to their countrymen, had been connected with all their national feelings, and was to them fertile in their fondest and proudest associations. It spoke not to the hearts of the Romans, who, far from wishing to see it, if they bestowed any thoughts on the subject, must rather have desired it banished from their sight, as proclaiming too loudly that the splendour they displayed was not their own; that in matters of taste they condescended, or were obliged, to borrow from the very nation whom with their arms they had vanquished. At Rome, the utmost therefore they could do was to impose on its edifices the Grecian

forms as a mere superficial mask, as a handsome cloak, in no way connected with the body it covered.

Still might that mask, as far as it went, have been consistent in its internal component parts ; and such we see it in a very few edifices built in Asia under the sway of the Romans.

There are some which, while they take advantage internally of the power afforded by the arch to cover in a larger space with blocks of stone less enormous, yet withinside possess the cella, and on the exterior display so faithful an imitation of the columns and wings of the slanting roof, gable end, and entablature, as to differ little from the buildings erected during the independence of Greece. But these are few and far apart.

The Romans, far from possessing the genius that invents, had not even the taste that discriminates among the inventions of others. They dwelt not, in their study of ornament, on the essential conditions of beauty ; they knew not the principle on which it must be founded ; they required not in decoration, as in objects of strict utility, that consistency, without which the latter cannot attain their end. With them, the art of producing beauty was called into requisition by ostentation and luxury : guided in their imitation of extraneous architecture by fashion more than taste, they only wanted the semblance of Grecian forms, not the substance of Grecian principles : they were satisfied with fragments and patches however inconsistently applied and united ; nay, they were even prepared to see, in this application and union—new and unseen in Greece

itself, only because it was inconsistent,—fresh conquests of taste, and combinations of genius—to receive a conglomeration of remnants as new inventions, to admire the proofs of poverty as an increase of riches. Those who, transplanted to a foreign soil, from citizens and rulers, become strangers and slaves, could not, in their fallen state, retain the sentiments, the emulation, of freemen. They naturally began to prefer such a deviation from their painful and sober adaptation of ancient forms to new purposes as should insure to them present employment and profit, and that degree of marketable fame which might conduce to the acquisition of those advantages suited to their fallen condition; nay, perhaps wishing to repay their wrongs on the Romans, by combining, with an open obsequiousness to their most absurd dictates, whatever revenge they could still take of them, and to repay with secret ridicule the open insult received from them, were probably even anxious, in lending them their architecture, to employ it in the manner most inconsistent with its original principle, most calculated to prove and expose the ignorance and bad taste of their employers.

Thus what remained of Grecian architecture became completely bastardised and degenerate in the Roman territory. In the former, the column was a more characteristic and essential feature than the wall, since it supported a greater proportion of the weight, seemed rooted in the deep recesses of the soil like the oak in its native forest, and rose in single stem, continuous in substance and robust in frame, from the surface of the earth to the entablature. Notwith-

standing its great individual strength and diameter, it was so approximated to many more of a similar nature, which shared with it the burden of the superincumbent masses as to give the greatest solidity to the edifice, and to gratify the spectator with the richness and variety of form, combined with the appearance of vigour and durability.

In the latter, a continuous wall, capable not only of supporting great perpendicular weight, but of enduring considerable oblique pressure, was an indispensable requisite for the continuous-vault, and naturally became an object of greater consequence and attention than columns. These, indeed, need only to adorn its nakedness, placed too far from the main building to be embodied with it or to add to its strength, instead of rising directly from the plinth or stylobate, were separated from it, and raised upon a clumsy square block, which, under the name of pedestal, seemed interposed to interrupt the connection between the shaft and the floor; by its size to narrow the passage, and by its protruding angles to inconvenience or to hurt the passengers.

Frequently, as in the triumphal arches of the emperors, that pedestal became so lofty that, instead of raising the columns on a sort of cothurnus, it lifted them on a positive stilt, and not only cut off their connection with the ground but made them appear as if tottering in air. Where the pedestal occupied a greater space between the soffite and the stylobate, less remained for the column, which became shorter, thinner, weaker, requiring, instead of affording, support;

its apparent weakness exceeding its real debility, like an appendage not wrought for the building, but borrowed from some smaller structure, and only carried to the requisite height by the aid of materials which did not belong to it. As they became weaker, like the limbs of an unhealthy child, they were stretched to a greater distance from each other, and were no longer capable of bearing an entablature diminished to their own proportions. In order fully to confirm their inutility, they were not made to carry any such, but of an architrave directly supported by the wall itself, (a continuation of that wall, indeed, under a different denomination,) such projections or knots as did not exceed their own diameter, and appeared fitter for the purpose of steadying the useless pillar than the pillar for that of carrying an unmeaning entablature. The effect produced was that of a second capital mimicking the first; confusing its form, and destroying its appearance; causing as great a multiplication of breaks and angles, and of clumsy mouldings, as arises from the equally useless pedestal underneath.

At other times, again, to show the inutility both of the column and the entablature still more evidently, both were, as in the recesses of the Pantheon, placed within an arch totally independent of either; so that the column carrying the entablature, but the entablature carrying nothing, the former only appeared for the purpose of supporting the latter, and the latter for that of tying together the former.

But of all the parts borrowed from Grecian architecture, that which came to be applied in the way most



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different from, most inconsistent with, its nature and distinction in the original, was the fastigium, the part which we call the pediment.

That pediment, which was only the termination of a roof, slanting both ways from its central line or spine, of which, throughout its whole length from end to end, the continuity was never broken, which was never seen in Grecian buildings except on the straight line at the summit, and the gable formed by the extremity of the roof, in Roman architecture frequently appeared as if cut off from all that belonged to it, and grew out of, and was stuck under, the entablature which it should have surmounted, against the upright wall, over a door, a window, or a niche, even as in the temple of Balbeck, placed within a projecting portico ; a situation in which it could not be useful, even to carry off the wet.

Instead of a single, large, and majestic pediment, naturally and magnificently terminating the building, several rows were sometimes seen of these small and inappropriate triangles ; and, to complete the inconsistency, they were rendered as unnatural in form as in situation. They were sometimes rounded, sometimes broken, sometimes squeezed within others of larger, sometimes strung round others of smaller, dimensions. Such we see them in the Castello d'Aqua at Rome, the remains of the Temple of Diana at Nismes, those of the Temple of the Sun at Balbeck (or rather Bahalbeck), and the palace of Diocletian at Salona.

In Grecian architecture, the square pilaster only terminated the square pier, or antae of the building ; by the Romans it was carried in shallow slips or slices

along the whole surface of the wall ; and, as the tyrant Maxentius tied together the living and the dead, so the architects of Rome every where attached the round, vigorous, and independent column to one of these flat, weak, and confined pilasters, for no other purpose, that can be conjectured, than that the effect of its tapering form might be destroyed by the straight lines of the pilaster.

In buildings of a circular shape, of which the Romans had many, not only was the architrave represented as bent in a hoop around its centre, but triglyphs and modillions appeared diverging in radia from that centre to the architrave. In one of the temples of Balbeck, copied at Kew, the entablature, instead of following the convexity of the belt of columns, between each pillar and the next displays a concave semicircular recess.

The Doric was seldom employed by the Romans in these strange aberrations. Its forms were too inflexible to be susceptible of such modifications. Its name, however, was preserved in an order substituted in its stead, but in which those features which had rendered it most characteristic, and at the same time most intractable, were left out ; so that it differed only from the Ionic and the Corinthian in its somewhat greater sturdiness. The Ionic had in its capital the beautiful variety and contrast between the front and side of the volute changed into complete sameness ; and the Corinthian lost the peculiarities commemorative of its origin—the acanthus rising round it, until its delicate and graceful tendrils were made to curl down under the

superincumbent tile, in enormous volutes, no longer connected with its foliage, or was replaced by a sort of combination of the Ionic and itself, called the Composite, which, instead of being a new creation of genius, gave evidence of poverty to invent and ignorance to combine. The very ovolo of the Greeks was truncated at its top, and the dentiles scooped out underneath, so as to become a zig-zag. As may be seen in the tomb of Scipio Barbatus, the Doric triglyph was associated with the Ionic dentile; and in the theatre of Marcellus the Doric column was made to support an Ionic entablature. But among all these recombinations of elements already familiar, we nowhere remark the discovery of any mode of decoration essentially new; and to this day the ornamental forms of ancient architecture are limited to the number exhibited by the Greeks in the days of their freedom.

Already, under Augustus, who prided himself upon having found Rome of brick and left it of marble, did the aberrations from consistency in architecture strike Vitruvius,—a Greek, indeed, but who, from the natural influence of the times, seemed to have imbibed many Roman ideas, so as to induce him bitterly to inveigh against them. “The Greeks,” he says, “ever mindful not to represent in the copy what could not exist in the original, would, on no account, in the slanting cornices of their pediments, have placed the dentiles under the modillions; since such proceeding would have been in direct opposition to the original principle of the wooden roof: but the Romans never suffered themselves to be shackled by rules of propriety so mi-

nute and so strict. They place both dentiles and modillions just as, and wherever, their whim happens to prompt them."

Under the reign of Augustus's immediate successor and nephew, Tiberius, architecture was already so degenerate, that the arch, built by that emperor in honour of his uncle, exhibits the most lamentable defect of proportion. Of immense width, in proportion to its height, it is supported by two piers, and flanked by two columns so jejune as to look like a dwarf with long and meagre limbs. The pediment, too narrow to rest on the entablature from column to column, seems in danger of slipping down between them. Exactly reversed from this arch, in all its defects, is that of Trajan at Ancona: its gateway offers a height wholly disproportionate to its width; all its parts appear squeezed together from the sides, and elongated in the same proportion from the ground upwards. To prodigiously elevated pedestals underneath, and expletives above, we see added every where a confused reduplication of unmeaning mouldings. Bad taste seems carried to its highest pitch in the Porta dei Borsari, at Verona, probably built under Alexander Severus. The columns are fluted spirally, and the pediments over the niches are alternately round and triangular. We might, indeed, quote something worse, if the spiral column of Rosso, now in the Colonna palace at Rome, and said to have been found in the ancient temple of Bellona, is really antique in its form as well as its material. Instances of arches springing from column

to column, without the intervention of entablatures, are seen in Diocletian's palace at Spalatro.

Of the original construction, interesting as associated with the origin and national achievements of the Greeks, pleasing to the beholder as accounting for every partial form, making beauty rise directly from utility, and maintain with it an indissoluble connection, not a vestige was left uncorrupted. Architecture—from being, in the time of its purity, like a young virgin, all health, simplicity, and truth, her modest beauties derived from her natural and essential forms,—in its degeneracy and corruption was overladen with meretricious ornaments, fulsome from their glare, and oppressive with their weight and encumbrance. The bad taste of Rome became so general as to extend to the very heart of Greece itself; and the same defects are observable in the arch of Titus on the banks of the Tiber, and in the Arch of Adrian on the banks of the Ilissus. Yet can it not be denied, that the Roman architecture, in the curves and convexities of the arch, afforded means of adding much of variety and beauty to the straight lines, flat surfaces, and angular terminations, and created a pleasing impression, which its awkward combination of Grecian forms could not destroy, and which it must preserve, whether it shook off or remained trammelled with inconsistent additions.

Under the influence of Rome, and in the general decline of art, not only the composition but the execution of architectural ornaments lost all their former excellence. Plain mouldings, no longer contrasted with

each other, but tastelessly multiplied, became at once heavy, and yet tame, and without effect; imitative ornaments were ill wrought and confused. While yet edifices so vast and magnificent as that of which we see the remains, under the name of the Temple of Peace, continued to be erected, sculpture had already fallen to so low an ebb, that its gigantic marble brackets, ornamented with victories, offer a workmanship not superior to the worst of Gothic eras; and not much later, under Constantine, its powers seemed so entirely palsied, that, according to some writers, the arch of that emperor could only be decorated by stripping that of Trajan of his reliefs, wrought in honour of another emperor, and recording other conquests.

We have seen that in Greece, from the ignorance of the art of vaulting, even temples were left open to the sky, and scenic exhibitions performed under the broad canopy of heaven, and, consequently, in the daytime.

At Rome, from the deficiency of glass sufficient for their wants, many chambers, destined for public meeting and private habitation, seem never to have had any other light than that of lamps. In the baths of Titus, the Laocoon was found in a room totally shut out from daylight. In these apartments beauty was sought in a less degree from the chaste effect of relief than from the glitter of costly materials and the gaudiness of vivid and contrasted colours; a taste alike reprobated by Vitruvius and by Pliny, and nevertheless carried to such a pitch, that the richest marbles still had additional spots of different hues, stained or inserted in them, to



add to their brilliancy. While apartments of a more magnificent description thus shone with porphyry, and serpentine, and verde, and rosso, and giallo antico, and every species of agate and jasper, of ordinary rooms the walls were painted in encaustic colours, less expensive, but not less vivid; and the fanciful combinations of vegetable and animal life, already exhibited in sculpture, became in painting, from the easier flourishing of the pencil, and the more uncontrolled range it found in the large, flat surfaces to cover, still more extravagant. All the decorations of rooms seem, in the later ages of the empire, to have been in that style which the Italians inappropriately enough called grotesque, from having seen its first specimens in the grottoes or excavations which restored ancient buildings to light, and which have since, with still less propriety, been called Arabesque; since the Arabs, prevented by their religion from representing animated nature, never knew them at all.

The architecture of the heathen Romans, in its deterioration, followed so regular a course, that that which most immediately preceded the conversion of its rulers to Christianity is also the worst. In the palace of the last emperor who persecuted the Christians—of him who immediately preceded Constantine their first imperial advocate, of Diocletian at Spalatro—we not only see some of the columns carrying the arch itself instead of an intervening fragment of entablature, which may, indeed, be deemed an improvement, as discarding a now useless member, but others supported on brackets instead of pedestals, on which more of a similar nature

again rest, without any continued line of separation to mark an intervening floor; and entablatures which reach not horizontally from column to column, but with all their various component parts of architecture, frieze, and cornice, circulate round a huge connecting arch.

## CHAPTER IX.

EFFECT UPON ARCHITECTURE OF THE INTRODUCTION  
OF CHRISTIANITY, OCCUPATION OF BASILICAS, AND  
USE OF ANCIENT MATERIALS.

IN the year 323 an event occurred which, among other and mightier changes, civil, political, and moral, produced, by degrees, an entire revolution in architecture. The Emperor Constantine, whether prompted by a conviction of its truth or by views more worldly, embraced the Christian faith, and forthwith gave to Pope Sylvester his palace of the Lateran, at Rome, which probably possessed one of those large halls known from the circumstance that causes were often pleaded in them before the sovereign himself, by the name of Basilicas, for his place of habitation and worship, and behind it erected, for the purposes of baptism, (always, in the primitive church, accomplished by immersion,) a baptistery, of octagon shape, in order that, from all sides, the ceremony—performed in a large central cistern—might be better witnessed. This structure, consecrated to St. John the Baptist (as were afterwards all similar edifices), by degrees gave its name to the neighbouring church, since much altered, but in which

the pope still takes possession of his see, and in which still is inscribed, "Totius urbis et orbis princeps." The year after (324), Constantine destroyed the Circus, founded long before the time of Nero, but by that vain tyrant finished, and distinguished by his name, to build in his place, over the tomb of St. Peter, the church dedicated to that first of apostles. After this, he erected St. Paul's, now beyond the precincts of the city; St. Lawrence, and, in a quarter as distant from the former churches as they were from each other, Sta. Agnese; and near this latter another baptistery,—in this instance round, whose ceiling, adorned with mosaics, representing the processes of the vintage, have since caused it to be taken for an older temple of Bacchus, merely converted by Constantine to more pious purposes; but erroneously, since its architecture denotes its late era, and its peculiar embellishment was, as we shall presently see, one of those adopted by Christians as emblematic of their faith. This church was afterwards converted into a funeral chapel, and the body of his daughter, Sta. Constantia, deposited within it, in a magnificent urn of porphyry, likewise adorned with bacchic emblems, at present an empty ornament of the Vatican.

Helena, Constantia's mother, was a saint as well as her daughter. Having performed the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, she built, or engaged her son to build in it a church, at Bethlehem, over the place where our Saviour was born; one near Jerusalem, over the sepulchre where his body had been deposited; and one on the Mountain of Olives, over the spot which

was marked by his ascension to heaven. Helena's discovery of the cross, the instrument of his passion, induced him to convert another Roman basilica, called the Sessorian, into a church, consecrated to this holy relic.

Nor was Constantine, who seems only to have transferred the seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium, in order to find more room for his new faith, less zealous in supplying with churches his new than his old capital. Among those which he built at Constantinople, the principal were, that dedicated to Supreme Wisdom, that of Sta. Dynamious, that of the Apostles, and that of St. Irene. According to Gregory of Tours, Constantine even built a magnificent church in Auvergne, and another in Palestine.

The circumstance of Constantine's triumphal arch, built after the defeat of Licinius, having been decorated with basso-relievos taken from that of Trajan, has generally been attributed to a decline of art, so great that sculptors could no longer be found; but some existed, at a later period, to represent the court of Theodosius; and in a monument erected to their military achievements men would, in general, prefer even an inferior imitation of their own victories to a better display of those of others. I am, therefore, more inclined to attribute the circumstance to the hurry of the erection in a place soon to be quitted. This same haste seems to have prevailed in the erection of Constantine's sacred edifices: the baptisteries of St. John and Sta. Constantia seem alone to have escaped premature decay, and the necessity of a complete re-

edification within a few centuries subsequent to Constantine's death.

Whether Constantine still continued, as is conjectured, to cherish in his breast some remains of polytheism, or became wholly a Christian, he only had adopted the Christian faith as an individual: he durst not yet, as a sovereign, enforce its universal reception by his subjects. Of Rome, the central parts seem, during his reign, to have remained so wholly occupied by paganism, that all his churches were erected on its outskirts, or at a distance from its walls. After him, Julian resumed, even as emperor, the rites of paganism; and Valentinian, supposed a Christian, raised altars to Victory in the Capitol. Victims continued to smoke on the altars of the heathen gods till the reign of Theodosius. He first, in 389, ordained that the Christian should be the established faith of the empire. He hurled the gods of the pagans from their altars, abolished their rites, and pulled down their temples.

An entire new species of sacred architecture now arose: the difficulties with which the art of building had to contend, previously to the invention of the vault, had caused the first temples of paganism to be small; thence the rites had in a manner been performed by the priest alone, and the laity only admitted to deposit the requisite offerings. In Rome itself, which had only acquired its vast size by becoming a collection of strangers from all parts of the empire, who each brought to it his own worship, sure to be tolerated provided it were not the Christian, the enormous ex-

tension of the city had increased the numbers more than the size of its temples : to the last they continued often gigantic in their proportions, but moderate in the extent of space contained within them.

When, therefore, Theodosius proclaimed a new worship, whose essence required the whole community to collect, at certain periods, in the temple of the single God, not an individual among those of polytheism, not even that of Jupiter in the Capitol, were found in their original form adequate for the purpose ; for of the ancient edifices, since converted into churches, the one was the great hall of the baths of Diocletian, the other seems to have belonged to those of Agrippa.

But there was in use at Rome another species of building, whose form seemed better calculated for the exigencies of Christian worship, while its destination seemed less hostile to the holiness of Christian mysteries.

This was the hall, first, as appears from Vitruvius, only forming part of the palace of the sovereigns, and thence called Basilica, where they or their delegates administered justice. These, as we collect from Pliny (l. vi. cap. 33.), had gradually increased at Rome to the number of eighteen ; and though originally courts of justice, many had become places of exchange, in the body of which merchants and others might transact business, while the recesses were frequented by clerks and officers, ready on the spot to adjust differences, and to decide points of law, that might arise between those engaged in traffic.

Of these halls, or basilicas, the excavations made at

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Otricoli, in the year 1775, brought to light an original specimen, probably very diminutive compared with many of those at Rome, of which the searches lately made in that city, on the site of Trajan's forum, have, at a more recent period, displayed some magnificent relics.

While the temple offered to the view external rows of columns, more or less numerous, preceding and surrounding its cella, the basilica seems to have presented outwardly nothing but a close bare wall. Whatever porch it might possess was within this, and made no display on the exterior: its principal area, of an oblong form, was divided by a double range of columns in a central avenue, and two lateral aisles, in one of which waited the male, in the other the female, candidates for justice. These three longitudinal divisions were terminated by another of a transverse direction, raised a few steps above them, whose length embraced their collective width, and whose destination was to hold the advocates, the notaries, and others engaged in prosecuting causes. Opposite the central avenue, this transept swelled out into one of those semicircular recesses, or terminations, with a ceiling rounded off like the head or couch of a niche, so frequent in the later Roman buildings called in Greek *Absis*, and in Latin *Tribuna*. In this sat the magistrate, with his assessors, and from this courts of justice have since been called Tribunals. Other recesses, semicircular or square, opposite to the lateral avenues, served for different purposes of convenience.

This basilica was thus, not only from its greater size,



but from its peculiar distribution, well suited for every purpose of Christian worship. Even supposing some of them to have been open at the sides and over the centre avenue, a wall might close in the one, and a wooden roof cover the other. As by the apostolic constitutions the church was to represent the ship of St. Peter, the centre avenue might represent that naos or nave, and even preserve its name, while the lateral aisles might maintain between the sexes that separation considered in early times as necessary at church as in a court of justice. A part of the nave might be screened off from the remainder for the singers that hymned the praises of the Saviour, and furnished with ambones, or pulpits, for the ministers that read the Scriptures. The altar on which the sacrifice for the salvation of man was to be commemorated might be placed at the termination of the nave, in the centre of the transept, already in heathen times seeming, by its disposition with regard to that nave, to have foretold the future triumph of the cross. In the centre absis might sit elevated both above the congregation and the altar, instead of the magistrates, the *επισκοπος* (the bishop), whose very name as well as office called upon him to look around, supported right and left by his clergy, as the former was by his assessors; while the lateral absides might serve as a sacristy and place of purification.

Thence, after Constantine had given two real basilicas, the Sessorian and that in his palace of the Lateran, to serve as churches, he built his other churches in the same form. Sta. Sophia and Sta. Dynamious

at Constantinople were (Ciampini de Sac. Edif. 27. 165. 29. 161. 31. 170.) after the same model; and it might be while Christianity still was struggling with Paganism for the purpose of avoiding a name offensive to heathen ears, that the first Christian churches continued to bear the very original name of the buildings which those of later date in the same shape preserved, from habit, from a peculiar veneration for the first avowed places of Christian worship, or perhaps in compliment to Constantine and his donation. And when Theodosius, after proclaiming Christianity the ruling, the sole legitimate religion of the empire, not only pulled down the churches of Constantine, already become ruinous, but the heathen temples, too small to be converted to sacred uses, in order to employ the materials of many such, however ill-assorted, for each of his larger new churches singly, he still retained in them the shape and the name of the basilica.

If already the form of the primitive Grecian hut was disregarded in the heathen temples of Rome, we may suppose that in its Christian churches, — required to be of dimensions wholly incompatible with that form, built in a hurry out of incongruous materials, which it was only wished to combine in the readiest way possible, and in which a professed imitation of an edifice destined for idolatrous purposes would rather be avoided than sought, — every remaining trace became obliterated.

And so it happened; for though columns of different temples, originally unequal in height, might be brought to the same level by shortening those found

too long, and by eking out, with a second base or a pedestal, those found too short, their various entablatures could not be thus adjusted over their capitals. This last representation of the transverse beam that tied together its upright posts, and of the rafters that again lay on the architrave in an opposite direction, which the Romans, indeed, had often applied inconsistently, but of which some vestige had never been entirely omitted, was altogether laid aside, and small arches, with imposts bearing immediately on the capitals of the columns, were made to tie together all those of the same row.\*

In most other respects the church of St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the others built under Theodosius, those erected during some centuries afterwards at Rome, and wherever the rites of the Latin church prevailed, retained, with the name, the feature of the basilica only so modified as the exigencies of Christian worship required.

The body of these Christian churches, as of the principal pagan basilicas, was preceded by a portico of insulated columns, to this day preserving its primitive shape at Rome, in San Lorenzo, and San Paolo, San Giorgio in Velabro, Sta. Maria, in Trastevere, remodelled in San Giovanni Laterano, and Sta. Maria Maggiore, and rebuilt in a more modern shape in St. Peter's and others, which, under the name of Narthen,

\* In Diocletian's palace at Spalatro, where this form of construction has been before mentioned, the reader is requested to recollect that, though these arches existed, the representation of an architrave was stated to circulate round them.

harboured the catechumens, and the penitents who durst not penetrate further, and from a mosaic at Ravenna, in St. Apollinare-di-Dentro, seems only to have been screened from the outer air by curtains hanging on rods.

Already, for the sake of that seclusion so favourable to religious feelings, many of the more important heathen temples had been preceded by courts: such presented themselves alike before the huge temple of the sun at Balbeck, and before the small chapel of Isis at Pompeii. In process of time, the single porch of the Christian basilica appears to have grown into a similar square or quadriporticus: such were afterwards added at Rome to St. Peter's, San Paolo, and San Lorenzo, and at Ravenna to St. Apollinare-in-Classi; and such at Rome, San Clement's, and the Quattro Santi Incoronati; at Ravenna, St. Giovanni della Sagra, and at Milan, Sant' Ambrogio, and at Parenzo, in Istria, the cathedral, display to this day.

The narthen gave entrance to the nave, bounded by two ranges of columns, generally borrowed from some heathen temple, and where one did not singly supply a sufficient number, from two or more, thence offering in their size, materials, and workmanship, every possible difference; here, raised to the requisite height by the addition of some spurious part; there, reduced to it by the abstraction of an essential one—as we see the first in San Lorenzo, the latter in San Paolo.

On the columns of the nave a wall was elevated high in air, of which the upper part was perforated

by round windows, and which supported the beams and rafters of the central roof.

In smaller churches, a single row of columns and single aisle; in the larger, a double row of columns, and double aisle,—such as St. John of the Lateran displayed before it was disfigured by Borromini, and St. Peter before it was rebuilt, and such as San Paolo still glories in,—was enclosed in a plain outer wall perforated by round-headed windows, over which terminated the beams and slanting roof, that proceeded from the loftier walls which rested upon the columns of the nave: so that the body of these first Christian basilicas, which from their floor to their ceiling possessed not, except in their antique columns, a single moulding or member projecting from their flat, perpendicular surface, and over their naked walls only presented the bare transverse timbers of their ceiling and roof, resembled huge barns of the most splendid materials; but huge barns which, from their simplicity, the distinctness, the magnificence, the harmony of their component parts, had a grandeur which we in vain seek in the complicated architecture of modern churches.

Milner says, that in the ancient churches was the porch which formed part of the exedras, and in which, according to the Council of Nantes held in 685, it appears it was lawful to bury: within the edifice was the narthen, into which, and no farther, penitents and catechumens were admitted; secondly, the naos; thirdly, the bema, or sanctuary, which was separated from the nave, not only by cancella or rails (whence

chancel) but also a curtain, which was only withdrawn during a short part of the service. In this part was the absis, or concha. A division of the nave, near its upper end, was by a few steps formed into a somewhat more elevated platform, railed in for the exclusive reception of the minor clergy and the singers, and was called in Greek *choros*, and in Latin *cancellum*, and may still be seen in its complete ancient form at Rome, in San Clemente, and in the Venetian Lagunas, in the ancient dome of Torcello, while at Rome San Lorenzo, and Santa Maria in Cosmedin, only continue to show the platform stripped of its enclosure; not only the people were excluded from the cancellum, or choir, by a solid enclosure, but veils were sometimes interposed between: within the enclosure, in the earlier churches, such as San Lorenzo, and Sta. Maria in Cosmedin facing each other, and in others of later construction, such as Sta. Maria in Araceli, San Cesario, and San Nereo and Achilleo, on the same line rose two marble pulpits, called ambones, that on the right for reading the Scriptures, and that on the left for reading the Epistles, the former flanked by the small marble pillar on which was placed the paschal candle. These ambones, Ciampini tells us, fell into disuse at Rome during the removal of the pontifical chair to Avignon, in 1309, and though left in some churches were in others removed as obsolete.

During the service the laity occupied in the aisles the space on each side of the choir, the males that to the right, the females that to the left; except in the few churches, in which, as in San Lorenzo, Santa

Agnese, and the Quattro Santi Incoronati, from the first had been contrived under the roof of the aisles a gallery open to the nave, where the women might sit and see the service in still more complete seclusion from the men, a fashion afterwards universally adopted in the East, where in every age, and under the influence of every religion, the two sexes were in public more carefully kept asunder, and which even crept thence into many churches of the West; first, where the intercourse with Constantinople was more frequent, and subsequently even on this side the Alps. Witness not only at Venice Saint Mark's church, at Milan that of Sant' Ambrogio, the dome of Modena, the church of San Michele at Padua, but the cathedrals of Zurich, of Andernach, of Boppart, and of Bonn.

The nave and aisles of these basilicas abutted against a transverse wall, which, through a vast central arch opposite the former, and lesser lateral arches opposite each of the latter, gave entrance into the transept, and that part which composed the sanctuary as is still at Rome in San Paolo, San Lorenzo, Sta. Maria Maggiore, Sta. Agnese, and every other church of that era; and the central arch leading to and from the very entrance of the nave, showing beyond it the sanctuary, the tomb of the martyr to whom the church was consecrated, the altar over that tomb, and the crucifix, and trophies of the triumph of Christianity, was thence, in opposition to the triumphal arches of the heathens, destined to commemorate their early victories called by the same name. The transept, the floor of which at the entrance from the nave and the

aisles was elevated by some steps above the level of both, and even of the choir that stood before it, as has been already observed, formed the sanctuary or place destined for the performance of religious offices.

We have had occasion to remark, that the first places of meeting and worship of Christians, were catacombs; and the tombs of the earlier saints and martyrs that died, or were deposited in these excavations, the altars on which the survivors performed their sacred rites. By degrees, therefore, as the bodies and remains of saints and martyrs came to be considered as gifted with a peculiar sanctity, the custom prevailed of building churches over their tombs; and gradually, if a church were wanted in a place not thus sanctified, these relics were transferred thither from some other spot where no sacred edifice had been erected, till at length it became the rule never to consecrate an altar ere the remains of some saint had been placed within its bosom, or under its base. The Empress Constantia, wife of Maurice, wishing for some limb of St. Paul, of whom Pope Gregory possessed the body, for some church she was building at Constantinople, applied, perhaps indiscreetly, to that pope, by whom compliance was haughtily refused.

When, however, the holy relics were of peculiar importance, and collected from afar a great number of pilgrims, a more conspicuous situation was gradually given to them, and more room was afforded to perform round them the wished-for devotions, by placing them in the centre of a spacious and lofty crypt, or vault, which was partly raised above the general level of the



floor, and partly sunk beneath it. This vault was approachable from the nave or transept by a certain number of steps descending downwards; but its contents might be viewed from above, through grated apertures. From it, other steps ascended to that part of the sanctuary raised over the crypt; and immediately over the tomb of the saint was placed the altar, (always single in the primitive churches, and still remaining so, not only in those of the Greek, but the Latin, rite of Ambrosius,) which thus, from its greater altitude, became from the nave a more central and conspicuous object; and as the place of martyrdom where the saint had, for the last time, confessed his faith and established his sanctity, and the tomb in which he rested had been called confession, these crypts retained that denomination.

Catacombs — the abodes, the churches, the burial-places of the first Christians, saints, and martyrs — were ever after visited and frequented as holy places, and served as models for imitation in the crypts, or receptacles for the bodies and limbs of saints, subsequently built in churches, and peculiarly destined to their worship. The funeral chapel, or church, of San Nazareo and Celso, built by Galla Placidia at Ravenna, to hold her tomb, and that of her nearest relations, received the complete form of a catacomb. At Rome, the church of San Martino was raised in 500, by Pope Symmachus, over a subterraneous church, or chapel, still existing, in which lay the body of Pope St. Sylvester, whose name was thence added to that of St. Martin, in the appellation of the church.

Santa Prassede was built over the confession, or tomb, of the saint of that name, in the crypt, or subterraneous church underneath, as St. Peter's was over that of the prince of the apostles and the martyrs that suffered in the circus of Nero.

Crypts of this sort, less ample and developed, still exist at Rome, in San Lorenzo, Santa Cecilia, and San Cesario; and more spacious, but more modernised, in St. Peter; and, above all, in San Martino: others, carrying over their greater height, a loftier platform, and a more conspicuous altar; at Ancona, in San Ciriaco; at Ravenna, in Sant' Apollinare di Fuori; in the island of Torcello, once the most populous part of the city of Venice, in its ancient dome, dating from the tenth century; at Verona, in San Fermo, supposed to have been built about 775, by the Lombard king Desiderius; and in San Zenone; at Vicenza in the dome, and in the Madonna del Rosario; at Parma, at Piacenza, and at Modena, in their respective cathedrals; at Florence, in San Miniato; at Milan, in Sant' Ambrogio; and even on this side the Alps, in Sainte Radegonde, at Poitiers; at Spire, in its magnificent, but now ruinous, cathedral; and at Bonn, in that still more ancient dome whose foundation is ascribed to St. Helena.

No longer destined to overflow with the blood of reeking victims, but only to bear their symbolical substitute, in the consecrated bread and wine, emblems of the body and blood of our Saviour, the altar of the churches combined with the character of the tomb that of the table, and received a form analogous to both: un-

covered at first, it acquired by degrees the dignity and protection of a canopy, supported on four pillars, and made, in early times, in the shape of a small temple, or tabernacle, such as still may be seen in San Clemente, San Cesario, Santa Agnese, and other churches; and which form, protecting the holy aliment, derived, like its more immediate receptacle, the name of ciborium.

I have already observed, that the pagan basilica terminated opposite the nave, in a semicircular recess, called absis, or tribune, rounded off at the top in the shape of a semi-cupola, like the conch of a round-headed niche, in which sat the magistrate, supported, right and left, by his assessors. This absis was, in the Christian basilicas, regularly preserved, and became the presbytery, or receptacle of the superior clergy. In its centre stood the marble seat, or throne of the bishop, raised sufficiently high to enable him, as his very title required, though placed behind the altar, to survey, as well as to be seen by, the assembled congregation. The seats of the higher clergy filled the remainder of the niche, and formed what was called, in Greek, the *synthronos*; in Latin, the *consessus*: and absides, thus distributed, we still see in reality, at Rome, in San Paolo, Santa Agnese, San Clemente\*, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Santa Maria in Trastevere, and San Cesario; at Ravenna, in Sant' Apollinare di Fuori; and at Torcello, in its ancient most theatrical form—a long flight of steps ascending to the throne, round which the

\* Plate XXVI.

semicircular seats of the clergy are ranged in many successive tiers ; while a fine representation of them in mosaic may be seen at Rome, in the absis of San Nereo and Achilleo ; near the Porta Capena, where, right and left of the central bishop's throne, appear seated two rows of bearded personages, the uppermost mitred, and the lower only deacons.

In later times, when altars, no longer insulated, did not permit the bishops and the clergy to be seen behind them, the presbytery shifted its quarters from the absis at its back, to the choir in its front.

The smaller recesses, whether square or rounded, opposite to the aisles of the pagan basilicas, were likewise, in those of the Christians, preserved, and used as sacristies and places of purification, until turned into lateral chapels, as we see at Rome, those of San Marco, San Clemente, Santa Maria in Trastevere, and others.

If the church of the Nativity at Bethlem in Palestine, still subsisting, be the one (and I am not aware of anything that proves the contrary) which Constantine built at the request of Helena, his mother, we need not be surprised that it should display a construction even more resembling that of the heathen basilica than the one now described, inasmuch as the columns that divide the aisles from the nave bear a continued entablature, instead of a row of round-headed arches, under the wall which lets in the light, and carries the central ceiling.

Be that as it may, the first basilicas converted into churches by Constantine at Rome were so soon again

pulled to pieces, and those reconstructed on a larger scale by Theodosius and his early successors experienced so many subsequent alterations, that, even in the first capital in Christendom, but few can be cited which trace their present construction from so early a date, and above all, retain throughout such features as are here described.

The magnificent columns that formed the aisles of St. Giovanni Laterano, restored in 967 by Pope Sergius III., after complete prostration by an earthquake, were by Fontana converted into massy piers and arcades. The basilica of St. Peter's, that from the time of Constantine to that of Julius II. had retained its quadriporticus without, and its four rows of twenty-five gorgeous columns each, within, was by that pope taken down, and re-erected on a plan wholly different. The church of San Lorenzo had its old nave converted by Pope Adrian into a choir: and in the beginning of the 13th. century, Honorius III. added a new nave to what was the old choir; so that the triforium, or gallery for the women, introduced in the ancient nave, now forms part of the sanctuary; that the triumphal arch faces not the present entrance, but the altar; and that by raising the floor of the ancient nave, and present choir, to form under it a crypt, the surrounding columns appear sunk in the ground. And we may say, that of the earliest and most important basilicas of Christendom, St. Paul's is the only one, which, though its transept was, in the ninth century, for the purpose of additional support, divided in two, and though a ciborium in the pointed

style has since been placed over the altar, retains its pristine form essentially unaltered. Of this form much still remains in Santa Agnese, restored by Pope Symmachus, like San Lorenzo, with a triforium, or gallery for the women; in Santa Croce in Gierusalemme, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, and in Santa Sabina, but under a modern mask; in Santa Maria Maggiore; and in San Martino and Silvestro, within a gorgeous modern envelope, internal as well as external; in Santa Cecilia, constructed in 820, by Paschal I.; in St. Mark, built in 836, by Gregorius IV.; and, above all, in a church never honoured by the appellation of basilica, and consecrated to San Clemente, which, on a smaller scale, still displays in its cortile, its choir, its ambones, its transept, its confession, its altar, and its absides, almost the whole of the essential features of the first basilicas here set forth. Much of the ancient basilica also remains in Santa Prassede; but instead of a single triumphal arch dividing the nave from the transept, several arches of that description divide and strengthen, at certain intervals, the nave itself.

At Ravenna, from the time Honorius made it the seat of that half of his father's empire which he retained, till the middle of the eighth century, considered as the capital of Italy, the ancient cathedral, with its double aisles, its choir in the centre of the nave, from which it was divided by small columns, and its semicircular absis, resplendent with mosaics, one of the most magnificent remaining monuments of the basilica style, was demolished in 1734, to be rebuilt on

the designs of Signor Buonamici of Rimini; but we may still behold the primitive shape of the basilica, very entire, in the celebrated church, now outside the city, erected over the body of Saint Apollinarius, supposed to be a disciple of St. Peter himself, completed in 549, once preceded by its quadriporticus, built of thin bricks or tiles, like ancient Roman edifices, divided by columns of Hymettus marble, with rude imitations of Corinthian capitals, carrying round-headed arches, and over these a wall, with double round-headed windows, into a nave, and aisles of an airy and imposing effect. From this, twelve steps lead to the sanctuary, placed over a crypt, round which circulates a gallery, to the altar; and to the absis destined for the presbytery, circular within, but, like the present absis of San Giovanni Laterano, at Rome, polygonic without. And we may equally retrace a good deal of the original stamp in another basilica situated within the present city, ascribed to Theodoric, and consecrated to St. Martin, which, from the removal of the body of St. Apollinarius to it, has acquired the name of St. Apollinare di Dentro: besides these, may be mentioned at Ravenna, in the basilica form, Santa Agatha Maggiore, built by St. Exuperantius at the end of the fourth century, and the church of the Holy Ghost, said to have been built still earlier. (*Vide D'Agincourt.*)

In the Venetian Lagunes on the island of Torcello, the basilica form is seen very entire in the church of Santa Maria, or the Duomo, before alluded to, built in 1008, by Orso Orseolo, bishop of the diocese;

possessing, behind a porch or portico of ruder workmanship, a nave separated from its aisles by columns, whose capitals, indifferently imitated from the Corinthian, support, over small round-headed arches, walls with windows carrying a wooden ceiling; in the further half of this nave, a raised choir, surrounded by a screen of small columns and intervening slabs of marble, richly sculptured; behind this choir, as in Sant' Apollinare of Ravenna, a crypt whose contents are viewed from the gallery which circulates around; and over this crypt, the altar and the semicircular absis beyond, in which the lofty marble throne of the bishop, preceded by a flight of twelve steps, soars over the seats of the clergy, amphitheatrically arranged in the curve of the absis, and presenting the most pompous presbytery which I know.

At Parenzo, in Istria, we find it in the basilica built in 540, by Bishop Eufraius, which, preceded by its quadriporticus, contains the aisles, divided from the nave by columns supporting round-headed arches, and the semicircular absis enclosing the bishop's throne and the seats of the presbyters, and enriched with mosaics. I may also point out, at Verona, the ancient church of San Zenone, attributed by some to the Lombard kings, and by others to Pepin, son of Charlemagne; which offers to our view a nave divided from the aisles by single columns, with capitals composed of monstrous animals, but carrying small round-headed arches, and over these a wall perforated by small windows supporting the ceiling; but, like Santa Prassede at Rome, instead of a single vast arch



dividing that nave from the transept, it exhibits several such placed on columns detached from, and rising above, those of the nave, which intersect the length of that nave, and tie together its lateral walls; while a crypt, wide as the church, to which, from the aisles, descend numerous steps, contains the body of the African saint; and around it a quincunx of small columns, with capitals of Lombard workmanship, and round-headed arches supporting the floor of a lofty sanctuary, approached from the nave by twelve steps as wide as that nave itself, and displaying, over the tomb of the saint, beyond the last arch of the nave, a single, soaring, and conspicuous altar. Near Bergamo are the ruins of a basilica dedicated to Santa Julia, with three absides at the end of the nave and aisles; and in Bergamo there is a church dedicated to St. Thomas, with two tiers of round arches inside.

At Milan, Sant' Ambrogio, preceded by a square *cortile*, built perhaps later than the church, by Archbishop Auspert, who died in 882, supplied over the aisles with galleries for the females, surmounted by an arched ceiling, and terminating in a crypt, filled, around the body of the saint, with a forest of small columns supporting the sanctuary and the altar, backed by its absis and its presbytery, with the name of a basilica, preserves less of its form than does, near Florence, San Miniato, built in 1013, under the Emperor Henry I., by Bishop Hildebrand or Alibrando, as Vasari calls him, in the fortress on the hill, whose nave, strengthened by transverse arches, sustains a plain timber roof, and by a long central flight of steps,

leads down to the spacious and lofty crypt underneath, while on each side flights as long, lead up to the high raised choir, supported over the subterraneous church by many columns, and ending behind the altar in the usual semicircular absis or tribune: and at Pisa, the cathedral founded in 1094, by Boschetto of Dulichium, is, in some degree, marked by the same features, though the conchiform projection of the transept deviates from the basilica form.

In the trans- (to us, cis-) alpine parts of Europe, we can quote little of sacred architecture so early in date, and so intimate in its relationship with Rome, as to offer the basilica form very entire; unless it should be, in France, the celebrated monastery of Clugny, begun about 910, by Berno, abbot of St. Balme, but only completed in 1069 by Abbot Hugh, and destroyed in the revolution: for in England, the church of Milbourne in Derbyshire, though said to date from the seventh century, however much it may once have had its east end terminated by its three absides, and still have its west end preceded by the vestibule or narthex, only presents in its general architecture the appearance of the later Lombard style.

## CHAPTER X.

**EFFECT UPON ANCIENT ARCHITECTURE OF THE WANT OF GLASS, AND CHANGES PRODUCED BY ITS INTRODUCTION.**

THE ancients seem long to have manufactured vases, and other portable objects, of glass, ere they thought of applying that close and yet diaphanous substance to its most useful and agreeable purpose — that of excluding from apartments the cold and wet of the atmosphere, while admitting all the heat and light of the sun : and the want of the thin plates of glass, now used for that purpose, only permitted them to throw into apartments a considerable body of light, by exposing them at the same time to every inclemency of the weather ; or to protect them effectually against wet and wind, by excluding in the same proportion all daylight, and contenting themselves with the dim glare of lamps. In general, it caused them to seek a medium between the two extremes, by suffering a few straggling rays of light to penetrate athwart the ends of the rafters that lay on the walls, and formed the ceiling ; or by introducing immediately under the shelter and projection of the eaves a sort of wide low window, which, only commencing, for the sake of restricting its

perpendicular opening and permeability, high from the floor, afforded no view of external objects. These restraints, as we before observed, influenced the whole of their architectural system: it caused the smaller temples to receive the requisite light through an enormous entrance door, always open, and the larger ones to remain hypæthral, and thus, even within, little better than external courts; and such was not only the magnificent Temple of Minerva at Athens, but even the Pantheon at Rome, of which the round central opening only shows all the beauties, by permitting every passing shower to deluge its gorgeous pavement. It caused the dwelling-house, for seclusion as well as for safety, to shun all windows outside; to have every aperture for light, as for egress, turned inwardly to a vast open court or impletorium, and only to present to the street, instead of the multifarious windows of modern habitations, an impenetrable dead wall: it even caused so many apartments of every sort to be left, for warmth and comfort, entirely destitute of windows, or apertures for daylight, of every description, that in the baths of Titus the fine group of the Laocöon was found in a room which, however glittering with precious marbles, depended entirely, for the light that made them visible, on artificial illuminations; though certainly, at no distant period, glass must, to a certain degree, have been inserted, at least in windows of the more elegant abodes; since Pliny describes in his Laurentine winter-villa a glass door and curtain, at once dividing and uniting two rooms. Indeed, it seems to have influenced the whole domestic system of the

ancients. By diminishing the difference, either between the inside and outside of the house, or between day and night, it caused them to transact much of their daily business in the public place, or forum, and at home to make the night much more the time of their most retired studies or their most convivial meetings: it may even have tended to render to the first Christians their abode in catacombs and subterraneous places less irksome than a similar necessity would seem to us.

It may be difficult to determine when glass first became common in windows; but this must have happened soon after the periods here alluded to, and before the erection of the great Christian basilicas; since, in the naves and aisles of these huge edifices, we see windows too wide and too numerous to have been left entirely open; and since Bede describes Abbot Biscopius as already, in 680, having sent to Gaul, together with missionaries, manufacturers of glass for windows.

Later, indeed, than Theodosius, in some funeral chapels, such as that built at Ravenna, by Galla Placidia, for all her near relations, and by Constantia for her father, the windows probably, by way of increasing the gloom, were still so narrow, as to resemble mere loop-holes; and afterwards, in conventual churches, it again became the general rule so to contract the windows, or to clog their openings by intervening pillars, that they scarcely admitted any direct light. In San Zenone,\* at Verona, the windows may only be said to form round the top of the wall, under the

\* Plate VI.

cornice, a sort of fasciæ of balustrades; but this was done with the view to favour by a dimmer light the holy meditations of the monks, and, perhaps, the miracles of the ministers of religion.

The early basilicas were not, as later modern churches have been, directed towards peculiar points of the compass. Santa Maria Maggiore, built by Pope Liberius, who died in 366, faces the East; and at Rome, the directions of the other early churches cross each other in every sense. The custom of submitting to any inconvenience, rather than omit to turn the sanctuaries of churches due East, dates from a later era.

With defects more substantial than this in the very construction of early basilicas, generally little more than a patchwork of odd fragments, agreeing neither in material, colour, substance, form, proportion, nor workmanship, eked out, next to what was most elegant, by that which was most rude—they yet, through the simplicity of the general form and the consistency of the general distribution, display a grandeur, produced neither by the last architecture of Pagan Rome, after it had dismissed all its Grecian consistency; nor, above all, by what has been called the later restoration of that architecture, loaded with all the additional extravagance of modern Italy. The long nave and aisles, divided by intermediate rows of insulated columns in close array; the flight of steps, which, often from each aisle, descended to the mysterious crypt or confession underneath, where stood the tomb of the patron saint, surrounded by a forest of pillars; the wider and nobler flight, which led to the

sanctuary, high raised over this crypt ; the altar of God in the centre of this choir, and directly over this tomb, seen soaring in air from the very entrance of the church, superbly canopied, and backed by a grand finishing absis, whose conch corresponded in its arch with that preceding the choir, and whose curve contained, theatrically disposed, the bishop's throne, and the seats of the clergy,—gave to some of these basilicas, as to San Paolo, and the first St. Peter's at Rome, an imposing appearance, which even the new St. Peter's itself, built at the expense of all Christendom, and with all the additional splendour of its dome, does not equal.

## CHAPTER XI.

## SOME ACCOUNT OF ROUND OR POLYGONIC BUILDINGS.

ROME, while yet pagan, possessed many structures, either round or polygonic ; some destined for temples, some for tombs, some for various other purposes. Of the first class seem to have been those circular edifices with columns on the outside, one in the city itself, and the other at Tivoli, called Temples of Vesta : perhaps, also, the Rotunda, now called the Pantheon ; and the Decagon called the Temple of Minerva Medica ; though the very circumstance of a beautiful porphyry lavacrum found in the former, placed where the Thermæ of Agrippa seems to have stood, and of the Hygeian Minerva discovered in the latter, rather marks both alike as belonging to the number of those temples of health yclept public baths. Of the second order were the mausolea of Cecilia Metalla, of Augustus, and of Adrian.

At Nocera, on the road between Naples and Salernum, there is a round temple, converted into a church ; and among the ruins of Diocletian's palace, at Spalatro, we find one of octagon shape, said to have been consecrated to Jupiter.

As the first Christians always practised baptism by



immersion, and out of church, and, wherever they formed a nucleus, consequently wanted a building for the purpose of baptism as much as for that of worship, Constantine no sooner gave his basilica of the Lateran to Pope Sylvester, than he erected behind it a baptistery; to which, in order that the assistants might from all sides more easily view the cistern that served as font, he gave the octagonal shape which is seen in the saloons of public baths, and which seems since to have served as a model for most of the later detached baptisteries, erected to the utmost confines of Italy. This building, of which the eight largest porphyry columns known support the roof, was consecrated to St. John the Baptist, as all similar ones have since been, and gradually gave its name to the basilica of the Lateran, with which it was connected.

Somewhat later, and at the other extremity of Rome, the same emperor built, near the basilica of Santa Agnese, another baptistery, in this instance round; which, on the death of Santa Constantia, his daughter, was diverted from its original purpose to that of a funeral chapel, and made to receive the magnificent porphyry sarcophagus of the princess, now placed as an object of curiosity in the Vatican. The processes of the vintage, represented in mosaics in the vaults of the building, and in relief on the sides of the sarcophagus, have since produced the conjecture that they were connected with the worship of Bacchus. This idea, however, is erroneous, since these symbols belonged to the early Christians. A similar error has been committed with regard to another round church

in Rome, dedicated in 470, by Pope Simplicius, to St. Stephen. It has been called, first, a temple of Faunus, and since, of Claudius; though the different heights, orders, and materials of its columns—some of granite, and some of marble, some plain, and some fluted, some Ionic, and some Corinthian, some finished, and some unfinished, some without any base, and some with two bases one over the other—prove it to have been, like St. Paul's and the other early basilicas, a mere Christian congeries of materials, collected from different earlier pagan buildings. In fact, the only round antique edifice which at Rome was converted, as it stood, into a church (which from this circumstance, and even from that of having been suffered by the bigoted early Christians to remain entire, we may justly infer never to have been a temple), is that magnificent Rotunda, in 607, by Pope Boniface IV., consecrated to the Virgin.

The Empress Helena had, in Jerusalem, given to the church she built over the Holy Sepulchre—perhaps in order the more to make it resemble a mausoleum—the round shape of those which I have named in Rome: and thence, probably, while in baptisteries the polygonic shape of that of Constantine was more commonly imitated, in churches either directly intended for sepulchral chapels, or built in remembrance of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, the round shape seems, in general, to have been adopted.

Thus, in Ravenna, we see the old octagon baptistery separate from, but probably built at the same time with, the dome, in 540, by Saint Orso, possessing

two circles, each of eight arcades, the lower resting on columns with rude imitations of Corinthian capitals, supporting a cupola, composed of hollow brick tubes or cylinders; and at Bologna, we see, among the singular cluster of churches, cloisters, and crypts, collectively called by the name of Basilica of St. Stephen's, the polygon, which appears to have been the original baptistery of Bologna, built by the Lombard kings, Luitprand and Elprand, as well as the font which belonged to it. At Canossa, the ancient Canusium, there is a dodécagonal building of the lower Greek style: and at Parma\*, that singular baptistery, octagonal outside, and with sixteen sides internally, begun in 1196, by Benedict Antelami, and finished about 1260, which, over four richly sculptured porches, facing four of the sides, is belted by several tiers of small columns, carrying straight entablatures, and one last and highest, carrying round-headed arches; while within-side, over a nearly similar distribution, ending in a zone of pointed arches, the sixteen sides and intervening ribs converge at the top in one common centre. At Verona, the church of San Giovanni in Fonte, otherwise the baptistery, is an octagon; at Cremona, at Volterra, at Pistoia, and at Florence, we see baptisteries similarly detached and octagon; since mostly faced with stripes of black and white marble: at Padua†, we see a very old building begun square and finished round: at Pisa, we behold the well-known round one begun in 1171: and on this side the Alps we may quote, at Paris, the round baptistery formerly erecting under the

\* Plate VII.

† Plate VIII.

name of St. Jean-le-Rond ; at Worms, one pulled down during the Revolution ; and at Bonn, one dedicated to St. Martin, supposed to have been built by Saint Helena, in the same state of architecture with Santa Costanza at Rome, which, in 1813, gave way from age.

Though the octagonal form is rarely met with in churches, one of that shape may be seen among the remains of Hierapolis, and that dedicated to St. Simon Stylites, with a representation of the column on which the saint lived, in the centre. At Ravenna may be seen the chapel which Amalasantha raised to her father Theodoric, of circular shape on a decagon base, now under water ; no longer adorned with the colonnade which seems to have enriched it, like that of the mausoleum of Adrian at Rome, but still preserving entire its dome of one single piece of Istrian marble, thirty-four feet in diameter, and three feet and a half in thickness, under which stood the porphyry sarcophagus of that king.

Here, also, we find the church of St. Vitale, round outside, though octagonal within, consecrated by St. Maximian, Archbishop of Ravenna, about the middle of the sixth century : at Pisa a round church near the gate of Rome ; and at Brescia\*, an old round cathedral, attributed to the Lombard king Grimoaldus : nay, thus Charlemagne, with columns of granite and porphyry taken from the Exarch's palace at Ravenna, in 796, raised at Aix-la-Chapelle, for his own sepulchral monument a church, since destroyed and rebuilt by the

\* Plate IX.

Emperor Otho III., in imitation of that of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem ; and in 813, by permission of the Khaliph Haroun Alraschid, rebuilt the church itself of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, according to its ancient plan.

Thus did St. Gregory, in the fifth century, found at Dijon the singular round church of St. Benigne, showing in succession, round a common tube, three circular galleries, supported by one hundred and four marble columns, laid prostrate by the revolutionists ; at Treves, one of similar nature. Thus at Bonn, were built, it is said, by Saint Helena, and assuredly in the earliest ages of Christianity, the two round churches of St. Andrew and St. Remi, destroyed by the French in the Revolution ; and thus, even in England, arose in process of time, at Cambridge and at Northampton, circular churches consecrated to the Holy Sepulchre, even before the order of the Templars, instituted in 1118 for the preservation of the Temple at Jerusalem, in 1185 built their Temple church in London.

## CHAPTER XII.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF  
BYZANTIUM.

PERHAPS Constantine, in 328, only transferred the seat of empire from the vast city of Rome to the small town of Byzantium, in order to evade the restraints with which, in his old capital, Paganism still surrounded his new creed, and to afford Christianity, in his new creation, more room for development. In Constantinople, the proportion of Christians, from the first, exceeded that of the heathens. In Constantinople, at the earliest period, churches were wanted more than temples, and might be built, not merely on the outskirts, but in the very heart of the fast-increasing city. It is true that, at Constantinople, there were no pagan edifices very large or very numerous ; neither was there a supply of magnificent materials pulled in pieces in order to be recombined into these new churches.

Thus disencumbered of the restraints which accompanied the superior resources they could command in Rome, the architects of Constantinople were immediately enabled to accomplish their wish of giving to the architecture of Christianity a form wholly different from that of Paganism.

If, on the one hand, Constantinople afforded not, in the prostrate porticos and peristyles of vast and numerous heathen temples, columns sufficient in size and number for the erection of those long naves and aisles that composed the chief features of the Roman basilicas; on the other, the progress made in the East, in the art of vaulting, enabled its builders; with smaller and poorer materials, to cast, over wider spaces, bolder arches and cupolas. The long vaultless avenues, therefore, of the Roman basilica were suppressed: four pillars, situated at the angles of a vast square, whose sides were lengthened externally into four shorter and equal naves, were made to support, and to be connected by, four arches, the spandrils between which, as they rose, converged so as, towards the summit of the arches, to compose with these a circle, and this circle carried a cupola, which (not made, like that of the Pantheon at Rome, or that of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem—to be supported by a cylinder intervening between it and the ground, but lifted high in air over four prodigious yawning gaps) was, for the purpose of combining as much of lightness and cohesion as possible with its great expanse, constructed of cylindrical jars, fitting into each other. Conchs, or semi-cupolas, closing over the arches which supported the centre dome, crowned the four naves, or branches of the cross: of these, the one that presented the principal entrance was preceded by a porch or narthex; that opposite formed the sanctuary; while the two lateral members were divided in their height by an intermediate gallery for the reception of the female con-

gregation; and these sometimes again sprouted out into lesser absides, crowned with semi-domes; or chapels, surmounted by small cupolas. And, as long straight rows of round-headed windows had been introduced into the parallel walls that supported the ceilings of the naves and absides of the Roman basilicas, so circles and semicircles of similar windows made their appearance in the bases of the cupolas and semi-cupolas that crowned the centre, the transepts, and the smaller ramifications of the Grecian churches.

The square cortile, for which the crowded quarters of Rome might seldom afford space, probably, from the first, became general in Constantinople. It still subsists in those Greek churches which the Turks, on taking that city, converted into mosques; and as these latter have since continued to employ Greeks in the erection of their new places of worship, and the Greeks continued to build the Mohammedan mosques after the model of the Greek churches, these mosques are each, to this day, preceded by a handsome quadriporticus, surmounted by rows of equal cupolas, as the temples they lead to are crowned by pyramids of domes rising one above the other.

Arches thus rising over arches, and cupolas over cupolas, we may say that all which in the temples of Athens had been straight and angular, and square, in the churches of Constantinople became curved and rounded — concave within, and convex without; — so that, after the Romans had begun by depriving the architecture of the prior Greeks of its consistency, the Christian Greeks themselves obliterated every mark of



the architecture of their heathen ancestors still retained by the Romans, and made the ancient Grecian architecture owe its final annihilation to the same nation to whom it had been indebted for its first birth.

The very first churches built in his new capital by Constantine himself, — among which one dedicated to Divine Wisdom, and another to the Apostles, are cited as the most sumptuous, — seem already to have presented the principal new characteristics here described; namely, that which has since been called the Greek cross, and, consequently, surmounting dome. At least, St. Gregory Nazianzen describes this form to have been that of the church of the Apostles, which exceeded all the others in magnificence; and it must very frequently have been in a short space of time repeated in the eighteen hundred other religious structures said to have been founded and endowed in the Eastern empire between the reign of Constantine and that of Justinian. Even before the latter epoch, it had already penetrated the West. Already, in Ravenna, even before it became, as capital of the Exarchate, a fief of the emperor of Constantinople, Galla Placidia, daughter of Theodosius, sister of Arcadius and Honorius, widow of Ataulphus, king of the Goths, wife of Constantius Cæsar, and mother of Valentinian III., imitated this style on a small scale, in the church of San Nazareo e Celso, erected by her in 440, as a funeral chapel for herself, her brother, her husband, and her son; and when the part of Italy bordering on the Adriatic became a dependency of the Greek empire, the Greek cross only rose with more splendour at Ancona, in San

Ciriaco ; and especially at Venice, in St. Mark, &c. : nor was the fashion limited to the west of Italy, or arrested by the Alps. Fleury mentions, in the ancient city of Arles, on the Mediterranean, the church of St. Cesarius, built, in the sixth century, in the shape of the Greek cross ; and, as far north as Paris, the old church of St. Vincent and Anastatius exhibited that construction.

The first churches built at Constantinople, on its becoming the seat of a court, and the capital of an empire, run up in haste, and without solidity, seem almost all again to have been destroyed by the earthquakes and conflagrations that succeeded each other with little interruption during a century and a half, even before the sedition of 532 annihilated, together with thirty thousand lives, whatever had thus far been spared ; so that, of the edifices built by Constantine, after a few centuries none remained. Justinian now undertook to rebuild with more splendour the church consecrated by Constantine to Divine Wisdom, but on a plan in which that of man shone but little. In a building which is, by its important and lasting purposes, required to possess the utmost durability, and may, in its premature downfall, involve the fate of thousands, the utmost solidity should not only exist, but every where strike the eye. The imagination should not be wantonly alarmed ; and, were it possible to combine with every condition of real solidity an apparent absence of those parts on which it must depend, this architectural trick or legerdemain would still be repugnant to good taste and propriety.

Unmindful of this incontrovertible principle, Anthemius of Thrales, and Isidorus of Miletus, the architects of the new church of Santa Sophia, by making the pillars destined to support the dome square, and turning the angles towards the centre of the church, so as only to appear the walls or piers that terminated the transepts; and by thus causing the spandrils of the cupola to arise, and to spread from the fine line formed by the edges of these angles, attempted to cause this cupola of upwards of a hundred and twenty feet in diameter to appear no longer supported, even as the former one had been thus far, on the four main pillars, but entirely hovering in air, without the least earthly resting-place. "Attempted," I say; for lightly as this dome was constructed, yet, the real strength of its supports being carried so far outside the immediate circumference of its base, and these supports thus receiving from it a pressure so oblique and distended, it showed, in less than twenty-five years after its completion, symptoms of approaching downfall so awful, that its architects thought they could only divert the evil, by making amends for the want of more requisite piers within, which would have pleased the eye and mind, by props without, which, by their clumsiness, cause the edifice, externally, to appear a mass of deformity. Besides Santa Sophia, Vegetius asserts, that Justinian employed more than five hundred architects to repair buildings in decay, and to erect new ones in the old provinces of his empire, and in the dominions acquired by him in the West.

The fate of foolhardiness in Santa Sophia probably made the successors of Anthemius and Isidorus revert to the more rational principle of their predecessors. They again condescended to give to the cupolas they raised in air, a visible support on earth. They even superimposed upon the four fundamental pillars, above the point where they carried the weight of the arches and pendentives, such additional masses of masonry in the shape of pinnacles, as might by their perpendicular pressure counteract the oblique pressure of these arches and pendentives; and might serve as an abutment for the flying buttresses necessary to contain the base of the cupola itself, and to diminish the weight which reposed on its pendentives; and which, moreover, were useful to vary in its lesser forms, and to pyramidise, the mass of the building.

The principle here detailed, seems to have prevailed in the structure of sacred edifices at Constantinople, from the days of Justinian to the present;\* for it was

\* Though even in the Greek empire we find traces of the basilica form in sacred architecture, as on the site of ancient Seleucia, where a large church, in total ruins, presents the square cortile, or quadriporticus, the long nave and aisles, the transept at the end, and the terminating absis; innumerable are the instances, from the earliest periods, of the favourite, the true Byzantine form; as, on the site of the same Seleucia, now abandoned, the remains of a church exhibit the Greek cross, with the transepts and the choir, each in the form of a semicircular absis, containing, in the intervening angles, the remains of steeples, and internally divided by columns into semicircular aisles, exactly like Santa Maria of the capital at Cologne.

On the site of Myra is the church of St. Nicolas, containing the tomb and body of that saint, likewise in the shape of a Greek cross.— At Salonica, a church in the form of a Greek cross, with an absis containing, in mosaic, an immense figure of our Saviour.— And at

that of Santa Sophia, and it remains that of the last mosque erected in the capital of the Turkish empire. In those of a moderate size, such as that of Adrianople, and of the Sultan Valide, we see the four arches, which carry the dome, immediately filled by the outer wall and its windows; while in the larger imperial edifices, such as that of Mohammed, Suleiman, and of Achmet, four transepts branch out from these arches, and are closed over them by semi-cupolas, which, perhaps, themselves again shoot farther out into lesser porches and recesses, again covered by lesser conchs or cupolas, and making the whole appear a vast conglomeration of globes of different sizes.

While in the Latin church, the ceremony of the consecration of the host ever continued to be performed in sight of the whole community, by degrees it was thought advisable, in the Greek celebration of that sacrament, to conceal the constantly recurring miracle of turning wine and bread into flesh and blood from the eyes of the laity, and to permit that it should be witnessed by the ministers of worship alone. The altar, and the sanctuary which contained it, were then closed by a screen with doors, whence, after the consecration had taken place within, the priest issued forth to impart the host to the congregation outside: and this screen, from being adorned with pictures of saints, was called the Iconostasis.\* I have thus far only

Artor, near Joannina, in the Adriatic, a church in the form of a Greek cross, with five cupolas, one over the centre and four over the transepts, exactly like St. Mark, at Venice.

\* Veils, formed like those represented in the building, inscribed

pointed out the general differences which the form and distribution of the Greek churches presented from the Roman basilicas. The detail of the Constantinopolitan architecture offered other novelties, which I shall now point out.

In the Roman basilicas, even those capitals of columns that were supplied by living artists were still made rudely to imitate the Corinthian and Composite, borrowed from older buildings, which they were to accompany. But, whether to save trouble, or to present novelty in the new edifices here described, all the bold projections and deep recesses of the old Grecian orders were omitted, and the new capitals, though still on round shafts, became little more than square blocks, tapered downwards to the dimensions of their stalks, and adorned either with foliage in low relief, or with a sort of basket-work, of which Grecian architecture and Roman floors already offer the less intricate and varied rudiments: and such capitals may still be seen at Constantinople, in Sta. Sophia, and at Ravenna, afterwards the residence of Greek exarchs, in San Vitale, built under Justinian; and at Venice, which long paid allegiance to the Greek emperors, in St. Mark, and other structures of that era.

The arch suffered, from that of former periods, changes still greater. Thus far it had universally been round-headed, and had always rested the termination

Palatium, in the superb mosaic of Sant' Apollinare-di-Dentro, at Ravenna, and suspended from bars, between columns and piers, were much used to separate the narthex from the nave, the nave from the choir, and the choir from the sanctuary.

of its semicircle on the capitals of the supporting columns. In order that, over columns of equal height, arches of different dimensions might still be enabled to preserve at their summit the same level, the abutments were now elongated downwards, below the semicircle, to an indefinite length. From this period forward we observe this form, not only at Constantinople or in Italy, but wherever new buildings arose.

Sometimes, indeed, we already meet, in arches of smaller dimensions, variations from the semicircular head itself. We find some describing a smaller and others a greater segment, and the imposts again form opposite sides, curving towards each other in the shape of a horse-shoe. In the ancient round Greek church of the now abandoned city of Seleucia, already mentioned, as being in the basilica form, are windows with double arches and a column between them in the horse-shoe form, thus :—



The arch of an old gate in the castle of Smyrna, built by John Ducas in the thirteenth century, is constructed on a similar model. Of such we may see later specimens at Venice, in St. Mark; at Pisa, in the dome; at Piacenza, in the Town Hall; and even at Paris, in St. Germain-des-Prés; and at Canterbury, in the east end of the cathedral; but, above all, in the Saracenic architecture throughout Spain: and here and there, for additional effect, an arch, broken into several curves, imitated a trefoil or a scollop.

Already in pagan Rome, every groined vault, such as were seen in the Temple of Peace, and every polygonic cupola, such as were beheld in the temple of Minerva Medica, exhibited opposite curves meeting at an angle; but whether these suggested the idea of the arch terminating in a point or not, it is certain that this soon became at Constantinople a rival to that describing a semicircle. We see the pointed arch alternate with the round-headed one, in the fine aqueduct, at Bourgas, attributed to the second Justinian. Sometimes it was narrow, and in what we call the lancet form, and sometimes wider. Sometimes even the sides, after curving inwardly ere they met, assumed an opposite outward curve. It seems by degrees to have grown such a favourite, that, to this day, it prevails almost exclusively in the mosques, the fountains, the kioschks, the baths, and whatever other buildings for worship, for business, or for pleasure, are built by the Greeks for the Turks. From Constantinople this arch seems to have, through the Greek provinces in Italy, made its way to the rest of Europe: for in these we already, at a very early period, find it intermixed with the round arch, as at Venice in the church of St. Mark, begun in 976, and constructed by Greek architects; at Padua and Piacenza, in their ancient town-halls; and at Rome itself, in the absis of St. Giovanni Laterano, so closely hemmed in by the borders of the Grecian mosaics that clothe its shell, as to prove its being contemporaneous with these. Now and then we meet with arches, if such they can be called, whose opposite sides are not curved, but



meet at an angle, like the cornice of a pediment. One of this sort forms the centre of the ancient frontispiece inserted in the walls of Constantinople, facing the Sea of Marmora, where it probably backed an elevated tribune, from whence the emperors viewed the sham fights, or regattas. And I think I remember others in that ancient edifice in the quarter of Blachernae, called the palace of Constantine. They may be seen, but rarely, in a few of the oldest edifices in Italy, and the remainder of Europe; as at Ancona, in the centre of the singular front of the church of Santa Maria della Piazza;\* at Rome, in the south transept of Santa Maria in Trastevere; at Como, over the south entrance of the old church of San Fidale; at Poitiers, in the ancient church of Saint Jean; at Valence, alternating with round-headed arches under the cornice, round the sides of St. Apollinaire; and even as far north, in Germany, as the old convent of Lorsch, on the Bergstrasse. At Constantinople itself, this species of arch seems to have been so prevalent, that in the mosaic executed by Greek artists in the absis of Sant' Ambrogio at Milan, we see a representation of a round edifice, in which a cupola, ribbed like that of the round church built by Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, rests on a range of columns connected by round-headed arches, which, in its turn, rests on an inferior circle of pillars, connected by arches with straight sides slanting up to their angular apex.

Previously to the extension of Constantinople the

\* Plate X.

arch had always appeared single, but in this city first began to be seen, within the circumference of wider piers and arches, rows of more or less numerous smaller and closer columns, carrying smaller arches. Such we find in Sta. Sophia, supporting within the transepts the galleries for the women, and within the absides the conchs that close their summits. Such again we find at Ravenna, in the church of San Vitale, also built under Justinian, and such we find in considerable edifices in other parts of Italy, to which penetrated the fashion of Byzantium. Indeed, from those parts of Italy which derived their architecture immediately from Constantinople, we must in a great measure draw our inference of what existed in that capital itself. It is by no means on the spot where the first specimens of each new style successively introduced were first invented and displayed, that we may still hope to find them preserved. Where they first arose they also first fell. Constantly a prey to earthquakes and conflagrations, to internal commotions and external enemies, and having experienced in 1204, on being taken by the crusaders, the annihilation of all the works of art that had escaped from former disasters, Constantinople, when the last of its Constantines lost his empire and his life, possessed not perhaps one single edifice which the first Constantine, its founder, or even Justinian, had beheld. In Sta. Sophia, the capitals of the columns are a poor imitation of the Corinthian and its acanthus; in most Greek buildings they became a still poorer squared block, with unmeaning scroll or basket-work.

From the day when Maximian, the colleague of Diocletian, deprived Rome of the residence of a court, and Constantine of the dignity of a capital, that city had begun to decline, until at last it became little more than a heap of ruins and a nest of robbers, who within its very walls made the traversing of its streets unsafe without an escort, and caused every habitation to be converted into a tower of strength. Constantinople, on the other hand, had by degrees become the centre of all the remaining arts and industry, as well as literature of Europe—the only focus whence these spread their light to the farthest confines. The Greeks of Constantinople were the arbitri elegantiarum to the rest of the world, as those of Athens had been before. Hence also their new style of architecture was copied on every side, and first, in those parts of Italy only divided from the Grecian shores by the Adriatic; which, after they had ceased to belong to the annihilated empire of the West, were, under Justinian, for a while attached to the Eastern dominions, and from their vicinity as well as allegiance to Constantinople kept up with it a more intimate intercourse.

In Ravenna, which had become the capital of the exarchate, after having for a while been that both of the Western empire and of the kingdom of Italy, the church of St. Vitale,\* built under Justinian in 534, announces itself at first sight as a work of Greek architects, and a kindred production with Sta. Sophia, and the others of Constantinople. Its form, round

\* Plate XI.

without, though octagonal within; its two tiers of arcades supported on pillars; its larger arcades or absides, containing lesser arches or pillars; its square capitals, partly of basket-work, and its coating of mosaic, at once complete the resemblance and establish the relationship.

Venice, the offspring of the ruins of Aquileia, and of the terror of Padua on the invasion of Alaric, first a city of the Western empire, next of the kingdom of Italy, and after that of the exarchate, continued long to acknowledge its vassalage to the Eastern empire.\* The cathedral of St. Mark, begun in 976, and finished in 1071, presents the perfect form of the Greek cross, crowned over its centre by a larger, and over each of its four lateral divisions by a smaller cupola, already in the more elongated form which appears at Constantinople to have succeeded to the complete hemisphere, each of these girt round by the customary zone of small round-headed windows. Columns, with square basket-work capitals, connected by small circular arches, carry round the nave and transept galleries for women; and over these a second tier of arches supporting the ceiling, while a rich screen closes the sanctuary, and in part conceals the altar. The porch, which precedes the body of the church, embraces its whole width, and affords five bevilled entrances, enriched with small columns of the most precious marbles, carrying round-headed arches, pointed and even with their summits curling up, or with a break in the con-

\* According to Milizia (*Vite dei piu celebri Architetti*), a Greek, Eulinopus of Candia, was, in 420, the original builder of Venice.

verging curves, some sharp and some depressed. Greek artists were employed to deck both the interior and the exterior, under Doge Domenico Silvio, with the richest mosaics.\*

On that island on the Venetian lagune, called Torcello, which, in the early ages of the Venetian commonwealth, was one of the most populous parts of Venice, and alongside that very dome already described, higher up, as preserving the entire form of the basilica, we see the Greek cross, surmounted by a dome, equally perfect in the church of Sta. Fosca, built in the ninth century, and displaying behind its absis, over polygonic columns, the Byzantine basket-work capitals.

Passing along the shores of the Adriatic, from the north to the south of Ravenna, we find at Ancona, on the very apex of its soaring promontory, its ancient cathedral of San Ciriaco,† built at the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century,—when, as Muratori proves, Ancona still obeyed the Greek emperors,—one of the most perfect Greek crosses existing out of Byzantium. Four larger arches may here be seen, so insensibly approaching the pointed, as to

\* Vasari says, that the church of St. Mark, which took its name from the body of that saint, brought to Venice from Alexandria, was, after several fires, finally rebuilt in the Greek manner, by architects, all Greeks, in the year 970, under the reign of Doge Domenico Silvio, and was finished in 1140, Pietro Pelano being then Doge. But Vasari is evidently wrong in the dates he assigns to his Doges; and the present church seems to be, in its finishings at least, of a somewhat later date than that he assigns to it. In fact, according to Felebien, in his history of Venice, it is recorded that, in 1178, Doge Sebastian Ziani, procured an architect from Constantinople to rebuild St. Mark.

† Plates XII. and XIII.

leave it doubtful whether by accident, or on purpose ; and four small round arches, filling the angles between these, support a cupola, ribbed internally : the transepts, each with a high crypt, containing, the one the tomb of San Ciriaco, and the other that of St. Liberius, which cause the floor over them to be ascended by lofty flights of steps, and which end in semicircular absides. The pillars of the nave and transepts are of the red Verona marble, and the capitals rude imitations, some of the Ionic, others of the Corinthian. The arches of the nave and transepts are all round-headed. From the west end advances a very projecting portico, of whose multiplied bevilled arches the outermost is a perfect semicircle ; while each inner and smaller one tends more to a point, till the smallest and innermost becomes perfectly pointed : an idea which seems to proceed from the same conception with the great arches that support the cupola. The outside columns of this porch are octagonal, supported on lions, with serpents in their claws, and bear capitals which, but for their adaptation to the octagon, are sufficiently in the Corinthian style to be taken for antique. A large square separate steeple, with round-headed windows, presents a fascia in very rich arabesques.

Further westward in Italy, while the pyramidizing cupola of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem is retraced in the central dome, the round ones of Santa Sophia, at Constantinople, or, rather, the more elongated ones of St. Mark, at Venice, are repeated in the lateral cupolas of the Santo, at Padua ; and the octagon cupola of San Vitale, at Ravenna, is imitated

in the domes of Parma\* and Piacenza; the churches of San Fermo, at Verona; of Sant' Ambrogio, at Milan; of San Fidale,† at Como; of San Michele, and of the Augustine friars, at Pavia; in the Certosa, near the latter city; and in numerous other churches throughout Lombardy. Near Rome, on the Anio, or Teverone, is a bridge, according to the inscription on it, reconstructed in 565, by Narses; the parapet of which is adorned with a network, or nimbus, of different designs, coarsely sculptured, like those on other Byzantine productions.

In the harbour of Pola, in Istria, on the island of Santa Catherina, is the church of that name, square, carrying, by means of the four large arches, and four smaller ones in the angles of the former, an octagon base, to a round cupola.

At Parenzo, in Istria, there is a basilica, built in 540 by Bishop Eufrasius, preceded by an atrium, surrounded by porticos. Its aisles are divided from the nave by rows of columns, supporting round-headed arches. A choir terminates the nave: at the end of that choir, and behind the altar, is a semicircular absis, with a throne for the bishop, and seats for the clergy; and a conch, adorned with mosaics.

At Salonica three fine Greek churches exist, which are now converted into mosques; that of St. Demetrius, with two rows of white marble columns dividing the aisles from the nave, and supporting over them galleries, with a superior row of columns; that of Santa Sophia, built something on the model of Santa Sophia

\* Plate XIV.

† Plate XV.

of Constantinople, with a cupola richly adorned with mosaic, and ambo of verde antique; and a third less striking. Between Aleppo and Antioch are the ruins of the church and convent of St. Simeon Stylites, much celebrated in the sixth and seventh centuries, but destroyed in the ninth, of which the church exhibits a Greek cross, in the Corinthian style of architecture, with an octagonal cupola over the intersection, under the centre of which rose the square pillar, representative of that on which dwelt the anchorite, and with semicircular absides terminating the choir and aisles.

In the convent of Mount Sinai, a church in the basilica form possesses two rows of columns, dividing the aisles from the nave; a high screen with doors separating from that nave the chancel; and, behind the insulated altar, a semicircular absis, with seats for the clergy, right and left of the bishop's throne, which occupies the centre.

We sometimes see this latter shape, imported from the East, on this side of the Alps.\* In France, at Avignon, Notre Dame du Dom; and at Angoulême, the cathedral: in Germany, the cathedrals of Worms, † of Spire, ‡ of Mayence, of Andernach, Boppard, Bonn, and Gelnhausen; the church of St. Castor, at Coblenz, built by Louis the Pious, in 860, the place of

\* We may quote, at Nice, the church in which the council is said to have been held, where may be remarked the semicircular absis behind the altar, with its steps, its seats for the presbyters, its cathedra for the bishops, and its mosaic pavement and conch.

† Plate XVI.

‡ Plate XVII.



meeting of a council of seventy-two bishops ; and, above all, at Cologne, that Rome of the North, Santa Maria of the Capitol, said to have been founded by Plectruda, wife of Pepin ; the Apostles', begun by Bishop Heribut, who died in 1021 ; and St. Gereon,\* founded by St. Helena, and probably completed, in its present state, in the eleventh century, since St. Anno, who died in 1075, added the choir ; and in St. Ursula, finished by Clinatus in 922 ; all which churches boast of a proudly rising octagonal central cupola, with corresponding or with semicircular absides, ending the choir and the transepts ; which, even when grafted upon the Latin cross, give them so Grecian a countenance and character, that, on beholding the east end of the Apostles'† Church at Cologne, immediately on entering its ancient gates, I almost thought myself at Constantinople.

Indeed, so much does the cupola prevail in the old churches, both in Italy and in Germany, that the Latin word *domus*, or house, applied to that of worship, *par excellence*, and retained alike in the Italian appellation of *duomo*, and the German one of *dom*, given to the cathedral of each city, has in French and English been transferred and restricted to, and become synonymous with, that peculiar part thereof more properly called *cupola*.

Of the Constantinopolitan architecture, the lesser details followed the greater masses westward. Not only the single arches, with imposts generally elongated,

\* Plates XVIII. XIX. and XX.

† Plates XXI. XXII. and XXIII.

sometimes with sides expanding beyond their base, or with summits pointed, scalloped, and curling up; but the lesser arches, inscribed within single larger ones, may each be seen in some of the different buildings, religious or civil, in Lombardy; and several of them united in the town-halls of Fano, Piacenza,\* Padua, Verona, Milan, and Como; whence it is that they seem to have spread throughout the rest of Europe, as features of what has since, more westwardly, been called the Lombard style.

\* Plate XXII.

## CHAPTER XIII.

DERIVATION OF THE PERSIAN, MOHAMMEDAN, AND  
MOORISH ARCHITECTURE FROM THAT OF BYZAN-  
TIUM.

CONSTANTINOPLE, situated at the point of approximation between the most civilised regions of Europe and of Asia, asserted the superiority she still maintained, during the middle ages, over the rest of the world, as extensively in the latter as in the former. Her artists and her men of learning were sought by the old Asiatic monarchs, as by the new sovereigns of Europe. During the whole continuance of the Sassanide dynasty, Greeks of every description found a ready market for their industry and their talents at the court of Persia. One of the princes of that dynasty, Nushervan, though himself still professing the religion of the Magi, went so far as to invite Greek philosophers to instruct his heathen subjects. Like other professors of art, Greek architects were in great request with the Persians: from them they learned to turn the arch, and to construct the cupola. It is true they might, and in some degree did, return the favour. The Persians, from the earliest periods in which they are recorded in history as a civilised nation, seem to have possessed an

indigenous architecture, of which the vestiges of Persepolis still display singular specimens. The ornamental finishings of their style appear to have gradually expanded into a sort of combination of facettes and angles, very like the forms of congelations and crystals. Such, at least, may be observed in all the later monuments of Persia, and of the other contiguous countries which borrowed from Persia their elegancies in art, as well as in language and in literature. These are also seen in the edifices of the Grecian empire, and may be supposed to have originated in Persia, with the more probability, since the only architect mentioned by name, throughout the whole reign of Constantine, was Metrodorus, a Persian, whom, according to Milizia, discontent at home caused to expatriate himself, and to establish himself in Constantinople; and since we know Justinian the Second to have employed a Persian architect to design his sumptuous structures.

The reciprocal influence exerted over each other by the taste of Byzantium and that of Persia, while the latter adhered to the faith of the Magi, so far from ceasing when both embraced that of Mohammed, seems, on the contrary, to have increased. The oldest mosque mentioned by Chardin, at Ispahan, supposed to have arisen in the second, or, at most in the third century of the Hegyra, possessed a centre cupola of more than a hundred feet in diameter, and other smaller surrounding cupolas, all, like that of Sta. Sophia and the other early churches at Constantinople, low and spreading. Whoever considers at Ispahan its later public edifices, can as little mistake, in their more

pointed arcades and more elongated cupolas, the later forms of which Constantinople set the fashion to Venice and other places that owed her vassalage.

The famous bridge over the Zender Houd bears the same resemblance to the aqueduct of Justinian at Constantinople, which the great mosque of the Maidan bears to the church of St. Mark and the palace of the doge, built by Greek architects in the Lagune: and, in the very steppes that surround the Caspian Sea, on the site of Mohammedan cities now no more, Pallas describes chapels and mausolea presenting similar arches and similar cupolas. The very Christians that occupied the more distant provinces of the Persian empire followed the same style; and the great monastery of Ecsmiazen, two leagues from Erivan, the capital of Armenia, founded soon after the conversion of the natives to the Christian faith, and to this day its chief and most revered sanctuary in that distant region, seems entirely constructed in the early Greek style of Constantinople; its older and more essential parts displaying, over their small columns, the round-headed arch, while the taller cloisters and porticoes are pointed.

Very different from the Persians those other Asiatic neighbours of the Greek empire, the Arabs, in their idolatrous state, remained to the last a rude uncultivated nation. The greatest proportion—wandering throughout the whole year over their vast deserts—only dwelt in miserable tents: the smaller part,—which in some fertile oasis, or on the maritime outskirts of the country, had fixed habitations,—content to display, in their mud hovels, the most indispensable forms, have

left no trace of any peculiar indigenous architecture. It was not until the religion of Mohammed, and the ferment it produced, had caused them, on all sides, to overrun their pristine boundaries, and invade other regions,—nay, after, in more civilised tracts, their first fanaticism had subsided into greater quiescence,—that they adopted in these, the arts they found established. As soon, however, as, under the Abasside kaliphs, they began to exchange the asperity of indiscriminating bigotry for the elegancies of cultivation, they, too, like the Persians, put themselves under the tuition of the nation whose pre-eminence all others of the middle ages acknowledged. Grecian astronomers, mathematicians, and physicians; Grecian grammarians and linguists were invited to every Saracenic court; and we have it as an historical fact, that about the year 820 the kaliph Al-Mamoun-Abdallah, son of Haroun-al-Raschid, applied to the Emperor of Constantinople for the best Greek works, to be translated into Arabic, and read in the Arab colleges of Cufa, of Basra, of Cairo, Fez, Maroc, Tunis, Tripoli, and others.

No wonder, therefore, that in the nobler edifices which they required in these places, they should also have adopted the Greek mode of construction: that their architecture in Asia Minor, in Syria, in Palestine, in Egypt, in Africa, in Sicily, and in Spain, should universally resemble that of Constantinople: that, like the vast structures of Ispahan, the mosque which rises at Jerusalem, on the site of Solomon's temple, that which at Damascus no Christian dare enter, and that built at Cairo in honour of Omar, or, in the latter city,

the hall which, in 1171, Saladin erected in the castle, and which, from his Christian name, still is called Joseph's hall, should likewise exhibit the pointed arch of Justinian's lofty aqueduct, and the elongated cupola of St. Mark's church at Venice.

Indeed, the Saracens and the Moors, like the Persians, not only copied Grecian art, but employed Grecian artists. In the same way that the Emperor Justinian invited a Persian architect to Byzantium, Abderahman, King of Cordova, called a builder from Byzantium to Spain ; and, in fact, wherever the Saracens successfully established their dominion, every edifice for use and for elegance, the medrassé, the mosque, and the mausoleum, the palace and the pavilion, bespeak, in their fundamental features, the imitation of the two nations to whom they chiefly owe their later culture—of the Greeks and the Persians.

That other swarm, completely barbarous in its native hive—that branch of the great Tartar race, called the Moguls, who, later again, over-ran Persia, and made Constantinople tremble—no sooner had established its empire in India, and begun to cultivate the arts of peace, than it also seems, through Persia, to have derived its artists and its models from the common source which supplied all the regions of Islamism. Seeming to hold in contempt or abhorrence the heavy indestructible pagoda of the idolatrous native, the Mogul princes of India, instead of the patterns immediately under their eyes, imitated, in their mosques and mausolea, the airy arches and the lofty cupolas of the Persians and the Greeks.

Thus, on the wings of Mohammed's spreading creed, wafted from land to land by the boundless conquests of his followers, the architecture of Constantinople, extending one way to the farthest extremities of India, and the other to the utmost outskirts of Spain, prevailed throughout the whole of the regions intervening between the Ganges and the Guadalquivir: in every one of the different tracks into which it was imported, still equally different from that of the aborigines, or early possessors;—in Asia Minor, from that of the ancient Sardis and Ephesus; in Egypt, from that of Thebes and Memphis; in Persia, from that of Istakar and Nacksi Rustem; in India, from that of Gnatio and Benares; and in Spain, from that of Saguntum, by the side of which it rose; and in each, still resembling its own more remote ramifications in every other country enumerated, or its common stock in the mother soil. Thus, while in none of the various and distant countries here named, we observe, previous to the adoption of Islamism, the slightest approach to those inventions, the pride and the stay of architecture—the arch and the cupola; in all of them alike, on the very first settling in them of the Mohammedans, we see these noble features immediately appearing, from the application of Greek skill, in the full maturity of form they had attained among themselves.

Indeed, in every Moslem dominion which continued to flourish during a sufficient period, we even see the arch and the vault keep pace in their further developments and changes with those which they experienced at the fountain head:—as the pointed, the de-



pressed, the scolloped, nay, the horse-shoe arch, successively gained favour at Constantinople and the rest of the Greek empire : and thence, also, in the cities of Italy connected with that empire by trade or by vassalage, each successively prevailed. In like manner, in the various regions under Mohammedan rule, and throughout India, Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain,—at Agra, at Ispahan, at Damascus, at Cairo, at Tripoli, at Tunis, at Fez, and at Grenada,—in mosques and in medrasses, in palaces and in pavilions, in bazaars and in bridges, in the sepulchre of Mohammed at Mecca as in the tomb of the Holy Virgin at Jerusalem, or the hall of Saladin at Cairo, we already find the arch, not only with the double curve forming the ogive sharpness in the centre, but the low spreading at the sides, which we consider, in the north of Europe, as the last modification of the pointed style. This ogive arch seems, even early, to have become, and late to have remained, with the Mohammedans of India, a favourite almost exclusive. It shows itself equally conspicuous in Ackbar's funeral mosque at Secundra, and in that of his son, Shah Jehan, the famous Tajemahal, near Agra. We see the same parallel progression between Constantinople and the regions of Islamism in the cupola. I have already mentioned that of the oldest mosque still extant at Ispahan, the cupola was low and spreading, like those built in the earlier ages of Constantinople ; and the same seems likewise to have been the case in the older mosques eastward in Hindostan, and westward in Asia Minor and in Egypt ; but when, later, Constantinople

set to Venice and Vienna the fashion of elongated cupolas, those in Mohammedan countries rose, as by the same impulse.

As, however, a nation in its decline, even though, from the long influence it has possessed, it should still serve as a rule and a model to those of later date, will at last be outstripped by them in the luxuriance of those very forms they first owed to its earlier culture; the new fashions invented by the Greeks—but, in a city already saturated with the requisite edifices, only exemplified very partially, and as an incidental variety—in the new conquests of the Mahommedans often assumed an universal and unqualified sway. Thus, as already observed, the ogive seems early to have become, with the Mohammedans of India, so universal a favourite, as almost to reign exclusively in all their great edifices. We even see it adopted by a native prince in the palace of the rajahs of Madura, at the very southern extremity of the peninsula: over the immense reception hall of this now deserted habitation, the depressed pointed arch expands to a size, and with a boldness elsewhere perhaps unexemplified.

In Spain, on the other hand, the horse-shoe arch became the universal favourite, was employed in all the later Moorish buildings, and from these again became imitated, still later, by the Christians in their neighbourhood. It appears at Grenada, in the palaces of the Alhambra and the Generalife; at Seville, in the Alcazar; at Cordova, in the superb mosque; at Toledo, in the ancient Arab gate; and even the later Christians of Spain retained so much of the Arab

while adopting the antique style, that we see the two manners mixed in the cortile of the Duke of Medina Sidonia's palace, built at Seville in the sixteenth century. It even seems, that to every new form which the eastern nations derived from Byzantium, their naturally turgid taste lent an inflation beyond the sobriety of the original type. Exaggerated forms, which at Constantinople had only first budded forth under their more southern sun, attained their fullest blow. Not only the arch, distended at its middle height much beyond its base, which in Christian buildings, as in the Greek church at Seleucia, and the Italian town-hall at Piacenza, had merely been a partial deviation from the simpler and more regular semicircle, became, among the most civilised of Mohammedans, the Moors of Spain, the universal feature ; but it was, even in the Moorish edifices of Grenada, Seville, Cordova, and others, broken into an infinity of smaller curves, and made to intersect the sides, or rise from the centre of other similar arches, in such a way as to present all the various scollopings of a piece of Vandyke lace ; while the cupola, which, among the Greeks of Constantinople, and their Italian imitators, had at most been elongated from its base, in a perpendicular direction, was, among the followers of Islamism, in India, Persia, and Egypt, made to belly out in the midst of its height, so as to resemble the bulb of an onion, or the body of a Dutch quart bottle.

In consequence of religious rules, superior to the laws of taste, the Mohammedans were indeed compelled, in the more ornamental parts of architecture,

to stop short of the Greeks. We shall see presently, that the prohibition of images in relief deprived the churches of these latter of one of their greatest ornaments; still they retained that of figures in painting, or mosaic; and with these latter the whole interior of their sacred structures was covered: but by the Mohammedan religion, every representation of animated forms, even in mere colour, was strictly forbidden, and architecture thus condemned to an almost incorrigible nudity. Thence, probably, arose those unmeaning combinations of facettes and angles, whether borrowed by the Greeks from the Persians, or the offspring of their own invention, and which, from them transferred to the Latins, in what was called the Lombard style—but in the cold blasts of the north, never expanded beyond the jejune form of the lozenge, the chevron, or the zig-zag, and the billet—received, in the warmer soil of Islamism, so much an ampler cultivation, as by degrees to cover their capitals, and cornices, and brackets, and groins, and spandrels, and ceilings, and cupolas, with all the congelations and stalactites of the richest grotto.

## CHAPTER XIV.

DERIVATION OF RUSSIAN ARCHITECTURE FROM THAT  
OF BYZANTIUM.

To spread like rays of light on every side, it only remained for the Constantinopolitan architecture to penetrate the Sarmatian tribes, which on the north-east of the Byzantine empire reach almost from the Black Sea to the White : and among these also it soon made its way. The Czars, or Cesars, of Russia, who styled themselves the representatives of the emperors of Constantinople, who derived from the Greeks of Byzantium their literal characters and their creed, also took from them their architecture. When, in 955, the Russian grand princess, Elga, went to Constantinople to be baptized by the Greek patriarch, she built, on her return, at Kieff, then the capital of the Russian state, the first Christian churches in the Greek style ; and when, in 988, the grand duke Vladimir, having himself embraced the Christian religion, and, in contemplation of the superior pomp of the Greek church, and perhaps of the transcendant charms of the Greek princess, Anna, adopted the Greek ritual, immediately erected, at Kieff, under the direction of Greek architects, in honour of that Divine Wisdom to which he

attributed his resolve, a cathedral, whose name of Santa Sophia, however, has been superseded by the more familiar appellation of The Tythe, commemorative of the source whence its expense was supported. Ruined by an incursion of the Tartars, but rebuilt on the original plan, this edifice presents, like those churches at Constantinople, the Greek cross, preceded by a vestibule or narthex, and carrying on the four main pillars and arches of its centre a larger, and on its transepts four smaller cupolas, richly gilt.

At Novgorod, which succeeded Kieff as the Russian capital, another Grand Duke Vladimir, surnamed Yaro Slavitz, about the year 1040, likewise employed Greek architects to erect a cathedral of the same name of Santa Sophia, which suffered greatly from fire; but bears the form, like that of Kieff, of the Greek cross, crowned over its centre by a larger, and over its transepts by four smaller gilt cupolas. Many other similar churches were erected about the same period, on the same plan, which have been mostly destroyed in the irruptions of the Tartars during the early part of the thirteenth century.

When from Novgorod the seat of empire was, by Ivan, transferred to Moscow, that city received at the hands of its prince a new cathedral, which has since again been demolished: he also constructed a citadel, called Kremlin, and a lesser church, in remembrance of the Transfiguration, which still subsists. Of these, as of all the other churches erected in Russia while the Grecian empire lasted, the architects were Greeks. When the fall of Constantinople caused Italians or

natives to be employed, the original style of the country continued so far to influence their designs, as still to make these present the Greek exterior, in the façade, adorned with enamelled tiles; and the Greek distribution in the cross, with four equal ends, crowned by a large central, and four smaller surrounding cupolas, of bulbous form, from between which shot forth steeples, shaped like the minarets of Cario, of Ispahan, and of Delhi: and as the cathedral of every Russian city resembles the Mohammedan mosque, so the Gostinói Dvor — the square market-place — of every city, with its double range of arcades, resembles every Eastern caravanserai or khan, and marks, like the former, the relationship borne by the Russian architecture to the Arab, the Persian, and the Moorish, and its common filiation with these from that of Constantinople — whose ramifications, extending alike to the north of Europe and the south of Asia, the Indian and the Atlantic Ocean, enable one, in the market-place of Novgorod, to fancy oneself in the Meidoun of Ispahan; in the cathedral of Kieff, to acknowledge relationship with the mosque of Cairo; and in the Kremlin of Moscow, to recognise the minarets of Agra and of Delhi.

## CHAPTER XV.

DESTRUCTION OF PAGAN WORKS OF ART, WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE EARLY DAYS OF CHRISTIANITY, AND PROGRESS OF THE USE OF MOSAIC AND OTHER GAUDY DECORATIONS.

SHORT in Ancient Greece was the period intervening between the production of the finest works of art and the commencement of their destruction. On the conquest of Greece by the Romans, a few only of the chefs-d'œuvre, such as the Olympian Jupiter, were left on their appropriate pedestals, because the enormity of their mass prohibited their removal: thousands of others, somewhat less bulky, were carried to Rome, and must already have suffered greatly on their first journey, since we find so many with ancient restorations. Thus far, however, the very love of art itself might be said to have occasioned its losses; but other dangers than those of indiscreet fondness arose while paganism still flourished. The tyrant Maximian had begun to melt down statues, groups, quadrigas, and whatever else belonged not positively to the altar and the temple, in order to convert its brass into gold: but this partial destruction of profane works of art only, and of such whose materials had an intrinsic value,



was inconsiderable, compared with that of every object by paganism considered as sacred, which took place at the hands of the Christians, on the promulgation of the edict by which Theodosius ordered pagan rites to cease, pagan temples to be pulled down, and pagan deities to be hurled from their pedestals. By that edict, marble and bronze, painting and statuary, were all involved in the same common doom, and destroyed for the mere sake of destruction — destroyed because those forms in which their authors had sought to embody the choicest gifts of Heaven, were, by men ignorant as they were fanatical, considered as animated by the darkest spirits of hell — because imaginary gods were regarded as real demons, deluding the world by this engaging appearance. The more, therefore, an image had, from its excellence, before attracted worshippers, the more it now excited wrath, and the sooner it fell a sacrifice to pious fury. An indifferent statue might escape with the loss of its most prominent limbs and features; but of a chef-d'œuvre no trace was to be left; and whatever had not, in the first hurry of devastation, become buried, and thus, to a certain degree, ensured from further insult, under the ruins of its own receptacle; whatever, in the time of Gregorius the Saint, still remained above ground and visible, was, by the order of that holy man, cast into the Tiber, to be for ever sunk in its slimy bed.

Nor did the primitive Christians make amends for the destruction of pagan monuments, by the production of Christian works. Even a wish so to do, would, in the total decline of the arts, only have met with very

inadequate means for its accomplishment; but this wish was far from their hearts.

The Pagans had fallen into an excessive fondness for the pleasures of the present life, from their uncertainty of a future existence. To the first Christians, the certainty of that which the Pagans grieved to doubt, coming with all the forcible impression of a new discovery, had given too great a contempt for these pleasures—innocent when enjoyed in moderation, and which, as bestowed by Providence, and by Providence intended for man's solace, should, instead of being spurned, be received with gratitude. Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, and all the first writers of Christianity, described the holy horror with which the first Christians abstained from hot baths, delicate food, musical instruments, elegant altars and furniture, and whatever else could gratify the sense: and this the more, from the literal acceptance of those words of our Saviour, by which he seemed to announce the destruction of the world as at hand. Thence they only sought to deserve the rewards, and to avoid the punishments, considered as impending, by the constant mortification of the sense; and would have thought their time wholly wasted upon works of art, so soon to be involved in the universal wreck.

Nor were, during a certain period, the labours of the pencil and the chisel more in request for religious than for ornamental purposes. In the first church, chiefly composed of Jews and Gnostics, images were held in abhorrence: and it was not until the beginning of the fourth century, when a greater proportion of idolaters

of Greece and Rome embraced the Christian faith, that they began to feel the want of those more sensible embodyings of the objects of their worship, to which they had been accustomed ; and that images arose, wrought first by the pencil, and next in relief. About that period, indeed, a likeness of our Saviour, supposed to be miraculous, led the way to others, confessedly produced by human hands.

If, however, so important a work of that age as the pedestal of the Egyptian obelisk, placed by the Emperor Theodosius in the hippodrome at Constantinople, and representing that emperor assisting at the public games, surrounded by his sons and the whole court, is a wretched performance, we may well imagine what must have been the execution of other inferior works of art. Deformity seems so much to have been their universal characteristic, that when, somewhat later, St. Luke unaccountably acquired the reputation of having been a painter, and having taken frequent portraits of the Virgin, these latter seem only to have been regarded as more genuine productions of the Apostle, in proportion as they were more hideous.

The wretchedness of these first images did not, however, prevent those, especially in relief (always more like reality), from taking on the fervid imaginations of the Greeks such a hold as to make their rulers, by degrees, apprehend a return to their ancient idolatries in a new shape. Thence, in 725, Emperor Leo the Isaurian, born and bred in a province whose ancient tenets were peculiarly given to images, began\* by

\* Like Mohammed, he caused the sacred pictures in churches to be whitewashed.

waging against them a relentless war; and his son Constantine ended by obtaining, in a synod of all the Greek bishops, their utter and unqualified condemnation. From that period, all sculptured images, and with them all sculpture, disappeared from the Greek churches, and the art altogether died away.

As, in Pagan Rome, the taste for beauty of form and outline declined, that for glare of colours and gilding increased. Rooms shone with the gaudiest painting, or the richest marbles; and of these latter, the natural hues were still varied and enlivened by art. This we learn from Vitruvius, and find exemplified in the baths of Titus, where the richest verde, and giallo, and rosso antico, deck the sides and floors of chambers. Pliny describes at length (l. xxxvi. cap. 25.) a species of mosaic for pavements, composed of interlayings of porphyry and serpentine,—richer in colour, and less liable to wear out, than softer marbles,—which he calls *genus pavimenti Græcanici*. This sort of mosaic work, of what the Italians call *pietre dure*, cut in various mathematical figures, and inlaid in a bedding of softer white marble, whose snowy hue served to relieve their deep colours, seems to have become so extensive a manufacture, and to have been so much employed by the Greeks of Byzantium, as from thence to have obtained the distinctive name of *opus Græcum*; though, in later periods, and when artificers could not be obtained from Constantinople, it seems, in the monasteries of Italy, to have become the fashion to employ their own members to cut out and to form this laborious patchwork, which requires more patience

than peculiar skill. Thence we not only find it in the churches of those cities peculiarly connected with the Eastern empire,—as at Ravenna, in Sant' Apollinare, and in San Vitale (though, in the latter, covered over by a later and higher floor); at Venice, in St. Mark, in the dome of Torcello; and in Santa Maria, and Donato, in the island of Murano, inscribed with the date of its completion, viz. the 11th of September, 1140;—but at Milan, in Sant' Ambrogio; at Florence, in San Miniato; at Monte Cassino, in its Benedictine Abbey; as well as at Rome, in San Lorenzo, Santa Agnese Fuori delle Mura, Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, and Santa Maria in Araceli, San Clemente, San Giovannie e Paolo, and many others;—and it must be confessed that, for pavements of public buildings, exposed to great wear and tear, it is difficult to conceive any thing of which the expense is better repaid, both by its elegance and its durability.

A species of inlaying, still more splendid than that for floors intended to be trodden under foot, was devised for walls, destined to less hard usage. It consisted of large compartments of serpentine and porphyry, surrounded and separated by borders composed of small pieces of the same materials, intermixed with others whose gilt surface was both shown and secured by a coat of glass, inlaid in panels of white marble, which, around these borders of glittering colours, frequently displayed others as richly sculptured, in beads, in foliage, and in scroll-work. The altar, the bishop's throne, the ambones, and the screens and balustrades

of the sanctuary, generally glittered with this magnificent coating; for in those members which, like the slender shafts of pillars, and the small fasciæ of friezes and cornices, left not room for the larger compartments of solid porphyry and serpentine, the narrower ribands of purple and gold were still inserted.

Of this species of embellishment, manufactured at Constantinople until the extirpation of the Greek empire, and thence diffused over all the countries within easy reach of Greek artists, we find, at Rome, magnificent examples, in works of very distant ages; from those where the round arch still was alone adopted, to those which had embraced every variety of the pointed, the broken, and the scolloped. We find it at San Lorenzo: outside, in the entablature and panels of the portico; as well as inside, in the throne, ambo, and screen round the sanctuary. We find it in the fairy cloisters of San Giovanni Laterano, and San Paolo Fuori delle Mura, whose twin pillars, twisted into every variety of shape, small round-headed arches, and entablatures, glitter in the sun like the back of the diamond beetle: in the pointed ciboria, after the German fashion, added, in the fourteenth century, to the altars of old St. Peter's, San Paolo, San Giovanni Laterano\*, Santa Maria, in Cosmedin, and Santa Maria, in Araceli. We find it in the screen and reliquary of San Clemente; in the receptacle for the host at Santa Sabina; in the ambones and altars of San Nereo and Achilleo; in the altar and bishop's throne in San Cesareo; † and in the ambones of Santa Maria, in Cos-

\* Plate XXV.

† Plate XXVI.

medin, and Santa Maria, in Araceli; in the ancient bishop's thrones of San Giovanni Laterano and St. Peter's, now put by as antique lumber; and in other places too numerous to mention.

Out of Rome, but still in Italy, we find it at Ravenna, in Sant' Apollinare; at Venice, in St. Mark; at Florence, in San Miniato; at Milan, in Sant' Ambrogio. North of the Alps it is seldom seen. In France, it existed in the old Benedictine convent of Clugny, now destroyed; and in England, a specimen, comparatively very insignificant, of the pavements described before, and of this incrustation, may still be beheld, greatly mutilated, in the shrine of Edward the Confessor, finished under Henry III., according to the inscription, in 1270, by Peter, a Roman artisan; and in the tomb of Henry III., himself, who died in 1272, erected with the assistance of the Roman Cavallini, by his son Edward I.

Thus far we have only described mosaics, of which natural marble formed the sole, or at least the chief, ingredient, and which only offered designs destitute of any peculiar imitation or meaning. Ciampini attributes the invention of mosaics in enamel to the Persians, from whom, he says, it passed to the Assyrians, from these to the Greeks, and from the Greeks to the Romans. Indeed, the various-coloured walls of Ecbatana, described by Herodotus, seem to have been formed of glazed bricks thus coloured; and to this day the Persian buildings glitter with coloured tiles, disposed in mosaic work.

But among the Greeks of Byzantium, the art of

giving to glass a variety of hues, either transparent or opaque, had attained a peculiar excellence; and thence, while they employed the stained glass to give richness to windows, they used the opaque enamel to adorn walls, ceilings, and other substantial and stationary parts of buildings, with such imitative designs in mosaic as surpassed the representations by means of liquid pigment, if not in blending, at least in brilliancy and durability of colours: and as, on the one hand, the change of the architectural system in the Constantinopolitan edifices no longer caused the surfaces to be subdivided by those frequent and varied members, which, in former styles, added elegance to utility; and on the other, the prohibition of imagery in relief suffered them not to be adorned by interesting forms of sculpture; these large mosaic pictures seemed to afford the only means of ornamenting their vast unbroken expanse with embellishments at once rich and lasting.

Thence, while the floors were inlaid with real marbles alone, and the upright divisions, more exposed to wear and tear, had only a small proportion of enamel added to these, incrustations entirely of enamel and composition were made to cover the higher regions of the side walls, the frontispieces of the triumphal arches, the conchs of the absides, and the spandrils and ceilings of the cupolas; as might have been beheld at Constantinople, in Santa Sophia, before the Turks, extending their hatred of images even to those produced by mere colour, had concealed them under an indiscriminating coat of whitewash; and as may still be seen at Raven-



na, at Rome, at Venice, and at Milan, in a number of churches; at Monte Cassino, in its rich monastery; and at Montè Reale, near Palermo, in its now greatly defaced cathedral.

Indeed, these mosaics were even made to creep from the interior to the exterior of churches. We see them adorning the fronts, at Rome, of Santa Maria Maggiore, San Paolo Fuori delle Mura, and Santa Maria in Trastevere; at Orvieto and Spoleto, of their respective cathedrals; and at Venice, of St. Mark. At Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Maria in Trastevere, and Santa Maria in Araceli, had even a species of smooth concave cornice curling over their front, in order that mosaic pictures might in them be better seen from underneath, and protected above: and these were encrusted with actual mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore, where they have been since marked by a more modernised front; and in Santa Maria in Trastevere, where they are still shown; while in Santa Maria in Araceli, they have been left unfinished.

This *opus Græcum* (or rather *Græcanicum*) seems to have been designed by the Greeks, and by these exclusively, during the whole continuance of the Eastern empire. At Rome, in Santa Sabina, they date from so early a period as Pope Celestinus, and the year 424. Every succeeding century saw some other church clothed with them by the Greek artists, whom Anastasius Bibliothecarius mentions as having been imported for that purpose. Indeed, during the prosecutions raised at Constantinople by the Iconoclastes, Grecian monks, who were artists, used to fly to Italy in such

numbers, that the Popes Paul I., Adrian I., and Paschal I. built several monasteries on purpose to afford them an asylum. Later in 1066, Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, who, for the structure of the church, imported artificers from Amalfi and from Lombardy, for its mosaic pictures is said to have employed Greeks; and as far down as the year 1400, we find Manuel Chrysoloras, in his "Comparison between ancient and modern Rome and Constantinople," mention the art of mosaics as one of those whose productions the rest of Europe owed and was supplied with from Byzantium. The mosaics in front of Santa Maria in Trastevere, and those in the front of San Paolo, were restored by the same Pietro Cavallini who was called in England by Edward I. to work in Westminster Abbey, and who died in 1344, aged 85; and we see the same sort of mosaics adorn the earliest round and the latest pointed style.

These mosaics were, in general, made to represent Scriptural personages, either directly or figuratively; and later saints and martyrs, and those in particular to whom the edifice was dedicated.

In the ceiling of Constantine's baptistery, near the church of Santa Agnese, we see the processes of the vintage, by which, in the first church, were typified the holy works of the Christians.

In the mosaics of later buildings are found the four figures symbolical of the evangelists—the ox, the angel, the eagle, and the lion.

Sometimes our Saviour is represented by a lamb exalted on a pedestal, and surrounded by a nimbus, to

whom twelve other sheep, representing the Apostles, pay homage : at other times, stags approaching a vessel stand for the souls of the faithful thirsting after the living waters : these souls, while here below, appear in the shape of doves ; after the resurrection, and in a glorified state, in that of the phoenix. In the chapel of Santa Prassede, at Rome, four angels, in the pendentive, support a modillion, the centre of the cupola containing the head of our Saviour. Often a troop of martyrs, male and female, distributed to the right and to the left, are seen worshipping the more colossal central figure,—if of our Saviour, or of the patron saint, standing on the clouds ; or if of the Virgin, seated on a gemmed throne. The triumphal arch is in general adorned, in conformity with its name, by saints or angels celebrating the triumph of the cross, and the sacred initials suspended over its centre. The superb mosaic with which, about the middle of the sixth century, Archbishop Agnellus adorned the walls over the nave of Sant' Apollinare di Dentro, at Ravenna, may deserve a particular description. To the right we see, next the entrance of the church, the palatium, or residence, in that part of the ancient city called the *Cesarium*, with its arched porch closed by curtains suspended from rods, whence issues a long procession of male saints and martyrs ; while to the left we behold, next that entrance, issuing from the suburb called *Classe*, as long a procession of female saints. The figures are nearly eight feet high, and separated from each other by palm trees, which place each in a regular compartment, and completely fill the sides of the

church from end to end. The males wear pure white vestments; the females, tunics, veils, diadems, and girdles, resplendent with gold and gems; and all have the nimbus round the head, and carry the crown of martyrdom in the right hand. Angels precede both troops, and lead that of the males towards our Saviour, and that of the females towards the Virgin, who terminate, on the side next the altar, the two compositions, probably united, ere the absis was modernised, by the representation of Providence, or of the patron saint, situated in the centre of its conch.

The pagan fashion of protecting the heads of deities, often, even in temples, exposed to the outer air, from the insults of birds, each by a metal discus, had by degrees so associated with that head-piece an idea of dignity, that the Christians adopted the form, in order to mark, even in painting, the character of saintship: thence the nimbus introduced over saints, in the more ancient paintings and mosaics, so far from being intended to represent a mere aureole, or glory of intangible rays, emanating from the wearer himself, is only the representation of a solid platter of silver or gold, often adorned with scrolls, foliage, gems, &c. fitting the skull. Indeed, sanctified personages, represented as still alive, were designated by a square nimbus only, of sky-blue hue, while the round gilt nimbuses are reserved for the saints already glorified; and this distinction we observe at Rome, among the personages in the mosaic that fills the tribune of Santa Maria in Dominica. The dress of female saints is always most gorgeous; while the white robe of the

males, with its distinct red or purple stripes, such as we see in the mosaic of the Triclinium of Leo, in the Lateran palace, wrought in the eighth century, and in the absis of the old church of Santa Prassede, may be supposed to offer the remains of the ancient toga, with its lati- (or Augusti-) clavus.

In these their pictorial representations, however, the Greek artists were not left to follow unrestrained the impulse of their own genius, or to manifest the full powers of their pencil. The Greek clergy feared, lest, even in painting, too close a resemblance of the reality might still cause the worship only intended for the original to be transferred to the copy. Like the Egyptian priests of old, therefore, they imposed upon art such restraints as might prevent its too near approximation to nature. For the outlines, the positions, the very shadowing of the different Scriptural personages to be represented, certain exemplars were fixed, which made them look as stiff, and flat, and inanimate, as was deemed necessary to obviate the danger feared, and from which it became, in painting and mosaic, unlawful to deviate : but the fullest latitude was given, to make up for the want of truth by the utmost degree of glitter ; and, accordingly, this was alone sought. The backgrounds of paintings and mosaics we generally see gilt ; and the shadowless, but still dim and swarthy, countenances wholly eclipsed by the gold, and silver, and precious stones of the vestment.

Among the most remarkable compositions in mosaic of the species here described, are — at Rome, the triumphal arch and absis of San Paolo, completed

after Honorius had finished the church in 441, by his sister, Galla Placidia; the absis of the Basilica Liberiana, executed under Pope Sixtus III. in 443; those of San Giovanni Laterano, Santa Sabina, San Clemente, San Cosmo, and Damiano, Santa Maria in Navicella, Santa Francesca; that of the oratories in the baptistery of Constantine, executed under Pope Hilarius in 462; that of the triumphal arch and absis of San Lorenzo, executed about 577, under Pope Pelagius II.; that of the absis of Santa Agnese, finished by Pope Symmachus in 633; that of St. Mark, near the palace of the Venetian ambassador, executed in 773; that of San Nereo, and Achilleo, dating about 796; that of the Triclinium of the Lateran palace, executed under Leo III. in 797; that of Santa Maria, rebuilt by Pope Paschal I. in 815; the triumphal arch, and absis, and chapel of San Zenone, in the church of Santa Prassede, rebuilt by the same Pope Paschal in 817; the absis of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, of 820; of Santa Maria Nova, in 848; the front and absis of Santa Maria in Trastevere, of 865; — not to mention the beautiful mosaic added to the absis of old St. Peter, in 848, by Leo IV., which no longer exists.

Out of Rome, but still in Italy, may be seen, at Ravenna, the mosaics of the baptistery, finished about 430, by Archbishop Neo; those that cover the whole interior of San Nazareo and Celso, executed somewhat later, by order of Galla Placidia; those of San Vitale, finished under Justinian, and after the building of Santa Sophia, by Julius Argentarius, in 553; those of

Sant' Apollinare in Classe, dating A. D. 565 ; those of San Martino, or Sant' Apollinare di Dentro, completed by Archbishop Agnellus in 570 ; at Venice, those in St. Mark, in the dome of Torcello, and Santa Maria and Donato of Murano, with the date of 1140 ; at Florence, the absis of San Miniato, and the ceiling of the baptistery, date 1293 ; at Milan, the absis of St. Ambrosius, executed in 836, under Emperor Lewis the Pious ; at Assisi, those of the Franciscan convent ; at Monte Cassino, those of Abbot Desiderius, in 1066 ; at Capua, those of the cathedral ; and at Monreale, those that may still exist in the absis and other parts of the cathedral, of late years partly destroyed by fire. Santa Sophia was covered with them ; in their turn they are covered with whitewash ; and of the other ancient Greek churches in Turkey, the absides of some of which still are permitted to show them, as at Salonica, where is seen, in the absis of the Greek Church, on a blue ground, an immense figure of our Saviour.

On this side the Alps, I hardly know what mosaics of this sort to quote, except those of Clugny, now defaced, and those of the church built in 796, at Aix-la-Chapelle, by Charlemagne, since re-erected.

Indeed, there was the less want of this species of ornament in the later Latin churches, which, as we shall see, enjoyed full latitude as to images in relief.

## CHAPTER XVI.

SYMBOLS USED BY THE EARLY CHRISTIANS, AND  
INTRODUCED INTO THEIR CONSTRUCTIONS.

IN proportion to the degree in which a party, religious or political, feels itself to be weak, persecuted, compelled to shun public observation, the members of it will evince a greater disposition to seek and support each other; will frame common signs of recognition, common links of union and fraternity.

Among the first Christians, the instrument of God's suffering and man's redemption, the cross, was made the chief emblem of their faith, the chief mark of their community, their standard and their watchword. Its name was constantly on their lips, its image on their bosom; they continually uttered its appellation and made its sign. To its sacred form were attributed peculiar intrinsic powers to protect from evil those by whom it was worn, or was merely traced in air; and it was thence carefully imprinted alike on the habitations of the living and the receptacles of the dead.

Anxious, however, as were the first Christians to impart their new faith to each other, they were equally careful to conceal it from the pagans, except on those occasions which demanded its public profession or



solemn disavowal. Their faith, their persons, their dwellings, and their cemeteries were alike hidden in the obscurity of the catacomb or the loneliness of the desert ; and, as Christianity made its first great inroad among the poor and humble, this concealment was not difficult.

But the Christian faith did not always creep along in obscurity and depression. From the poor it made its way to the rich, from the humble to the exalted, from the solitude to the city, and from the underground catacomb to the lofty palace.

In the beginning of the fourth century from the birth of its divine Author, it might be said to have attained that intermediate state between its first lowest dejection and its highest ultimate exaltation, between the liability to suffer constant persecution and the luxury of trampling on its former oppressors.

No longer at war with its predecessor, no longer hunted down ; adopted by the sovereign and by many of his subjects, it had not yet become the religion of the state or of the majority of the people ; its proselytes might still be exposed to the private resentment of the adherents to the ancient polytheism, and it was liable to the scourge of the written law. The creed of the pagans was too much connected with the forms of government, and might become too intimately allied with the authority of the rulers, yet to be set publicly at defiance. While in this situation, the Christians, for the purpose of making a more open profession of their faith, without offending the remaining adherents of the old one, sought not merely to conceal, under

the forms of Paganism, the practice of Christianity, but to convert the very emblems of the former into symbols of the latter, by such new appropriations of them, as, while causing them still to appear Gentiles to the Gentile, should enable them to be known as Christians by the Christian.

And, as nothing is so easy as to give to the same physical objects the most opposite allegorical meanings, their object was thus promptly effected. The emblems of heathen deities or worship, rendered allusive to parables of our Saviour, or the points of his doctrine, from being odious and profane, became suddenly objects of respect and veneration.

Thus the vine, the genii sporting among its tendrils, and the various processes of converting its fruit into the most universal of beverages, all belonging among the heathens to the rites of Bacchus, were, by the first Christians, rendered symbolical of the labours in the vineyard of the faith—or, perhaps, the cup of wine which our Saviour, at the Last Supper, presented to his disciples as the type of his own blood; and were thence introduced in the edifices and tombs of Christians: as we see at Rome, in the mosaics that adorn the ceiling of the baptistery of Santa Constantia, and on the *basso relievos* that ornament the sides of the porphyry sarcophagus which contained the body of that princess, formerly in that chapel, and now among the antiquities in the Vatican; in another Christian sarcophagus, deposited behind the sanctuary of San Lorenzo; and in numberless other early Christian monuments; and preserved in these, forms so doubtful, as

not only to have deceived the Pagans, who knew not the subterfuge, but the later Christians, who had again forgotten it, and who have mistaken most of these works for heathen relics.

As the vine of Bacchus furnished the emblem for the wine, so did the ear of corn of Ceres furnish that for the bread, which, on the eve of his crucifixion, our Saviour divided among his disciples.

The palm-branch, which, among heathens, denoted worldly victories, was made among Christians to mark the triumphs of the cross, and was wrested from the hands of heathen gods, to be placed in those of a saint or martyr. Venus' dove became the Holy Ghost; Diana's stag the Christian soul thirsting for the living waters; Juno's peacock, under the name of the phoenix, that soul after the resurrection. One evangelist was gifted with Jupiter's eagle; another with Cybele's lion; and winged genii and cupids became angels and cherubs. Even the sphinx, the griffin, and the chimera of mythology, were, by the pagans, adopted as having the same power of warding off evil spirits and fascination, which was supposed to belong to the head of the Gorgon. The holy image of the cross itself was disguised in the semblance of an insignificant ornament. In the posterior pediment of that small edifice called the temple of Clitumnus, but whose style marks that peculiar era when Rome was on the turn from polytheism to Christianity; we see that cross (probably the ægis of the small and fragile chapel during those later periods when every temple was pulled down), composed of acanthus leaves, so blended among the surrounding

scrolls of vine and poppy, as to have escaped the eye of later and less sharp-sighted Christians. Afterwards, a more distinctly formed cross, covered with gems, was used as the emblem of the Christian faith; and it was not till the sixth century that the body of Christ was exhibited on the cross; nor was it till the council was held at Constantinople, in 692, that the superseding of allegory, by actual representation, was positively enjoined.

To the insignia borrowed from polytheism the Christians still added others, useful in allaying the wrath which more undisguised representations would have raised. The lamb was made to designate the meek and faithful Christian; twelve such, in regular procession, represented the Apostles; and a thirteenth, more exalted than the rest, and adorned by a nimbus, was our Saviour. As the Greek word for a fish, ΙΧΘΥΣ, contained the initials of Ιησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ Υἱός Σωτήρ, even the inhabitants of the deep were made to represent Christ; and the rough outline of the fish, formed of two curves, meeting in a point at their extremities, was made to enclose, under the name of *vesica piscis*, the figure of our Saviour in his glorified state; or of the Madonna; or of the patron saint; and displayed in the pediments, or over the porches, of churches, or in the seats of bishops, as objects destined to call forth the recollection of these holy personages.

Indeed, to these symbols were added monograms, expressing them more directly, and often, like the cross, encircled by a ring or wreath.

Policy having introduced those allegorical represent-

ations, custom continued them. At Ravenna, either the vine, the palm-tree, the dove, the paschal lamb, or the peacock, are seen intermixed with the sacred monograms and the cross, on almost every one of those tombs of the fourth and fifth century, which that city alone displays ; and the whole menagerie of sacred animals—the lamb, the dove, the deer, the goose, the peacock, and the fish, each sort marshalled in a numerous separate row—appears on the convex marble ambones of the ancient, still inserted in the walls of the modern cathedral ; but when the Christians were relieved from their fears of paganism, they no longer confined themselves to these doubtful and far-fetched symbols.

## CHAPTER XVII.

HEATHEN CUSTOMS KEPT UP OR EMULATED BY THE  
CHRISTIANS.

THOUGH even at Rome the first followers of Christ were, as the very names of their first bishops testify, strangers from Asia, native Romans every day more and more frequently joined the rising sect, but, with the increase, adulterated the purity of its primitive rites. Deeply imbued with the idolatrous practices of their ancient worship, they retained a great number in their new faith, until each favourite heathen custom of the capital of the world acquired its parallel in Christianity.

The idolatrous Romans were in the habit (as appears from Pliny's letters to Trajan, and as we know from other sources) of so consecrating spots and buildings destined for religious purposes, as for ever to withdraw them from profane uses. The Christians, as soon as secure of their property, adopted similar consecrations with a similar design.

The idolatrous Romans, ere they began any religious rites, sprinkled the place and the assistants with water, on which the priest's benediction was supposed to have

conferred peculiar sanctity—lustral was its name. The Christians likewise had their holy water.

In temples, often dark, the idolatrous Romans had been used, even in the daytime, when performing sacrifices and other rites, to kindle lamps and torches. The Christians established, even in the lightest church, as a mark of devotion, the practice of burning round the altar and the tomb of the saint a certain number of tapers, and of carrying these in their processions in the very face of the sun. The Romans burned frankincense, and other perfumes, in honour of their gods: in the same manner their Christian successors testified respect for their saints.

The idolatrous Romans, when afflicted with certain evils, or desirous of certain benefits, tried to bribe the god to whom the cure of the one or dispensation of the other belonged, by the promise of certain offerings, which, on the boon being obtained, were hung in his temple round his altar; under similar circumstances, similar vows were made by their Christian successors to our Saviour, or the Virgin, or the favourite saint; and, when attended with success, the thing vowed was, in the same way, hung in their chapels round their altars.

Idolatrous Rome, celebrated, at the entrance into the winter solstice, a festival accompanied by offerings, to the goddess Strenua. The Christians made the solemnities of Christmas and of the entrance into the new year correspond with the same period, and continued the same gifts, down to this day called, by the French, *étrennes*.

Idoltrous Rome had, in commemoration of the good old times of Saturn, when all men were equal, and gods ate their children, their Saturnalia, in which, for a few days, every station in life was reversed : the Christians continued the fashion in their carnival, its masks, its revels, and its licence.

Idoltrous Rome celebrated, on the first of May, the return of spring, the renovation of nature, the revival of the generative power, by a tall erect pole, hung with garlands, round which the youth of both sexes led the dance : the Christians religiously preserved the sacred Maypole, which, in most Christian countries, still is planted on the first of that month.

The idoltrous Romans, again, celebrated, with different solemnities, the entrance into the summer solstice, with which they began the year. The Christians, in order to justify the festivities of that day, fixed it for the celebration of the Apostle St. John, and continued to light, as Christians, the bonfires which they had kindled before as Pagans.

In idoltrous Rome, the priestesses of certain deities were obliged to make a vow of perpetual virginity ; which custom, as soon as the Christians became sufficiently numerous to spare certain members from their further increase, they imitated in their religious orders, male and female.

In truth, the very tunic of the priest, the lituus of the augur, and cap of the flamen of pagan Rome, were preserved in the Dalmatic, the mitre, the staff, and the crosier of Christian bishops.

More important similarities still crept in : for while



the first Christians, chiefly composed of Jews and Gentiles, had, even in their state of comparative darkness, already discarded division or plurality in the Godhead — had already confined their worship to one single immaterial essence — we may say that the later Christians re-introduced, even in their purer religion, the shadow of polytheism, and the worship of many gods. Saints — nay, saintesses — were supposed, in their glorified state, to possess influence over men, and ability to intercede for them with the Deity, and a power of performing miracles ; and soon obtained, not only reverence, but addresses, invocations, prayer, and worship.

Indeed, the resemblance between Christians and polytheists even, in some respects, became more pointed. It is singular that the latter, of every denomination, seem alike to have distinguished and honoured some goddess for the preservation of her virginity. The Indians made it the peculiar attribute of one of their deities ; the Asiatic Greeks, of Diana ; the European Greeks, of Minerva ; the Christians, who found it in the Mother of God, bestowed upon her a sort of apotheosis, for which the Scripture affords no foundation. Nay, they afterwards maintained that Mary's own conception offered the same miracle with that of her Son ; and in view of that circumstance, transferred to her, in their representations, the crescent, which had belonged to the Diana of the Greeks and the Isis of Egypt.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

SCHISM BETWEEN THE GREEK AND LATIN CHURCHES,  
AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE LATTER—THE MULTI-  
PLICATION OF SCULPTURED REPRESENTATIONS.

THE first Christians, arising from among Jews and Gentiles, felt an utter abhorrence of images: the later Christians, mostly supplied from the idolatrous Romans, accustomed to have their devotion kept up, and their imagination warmed by suitable objects, again introduced them in their places of worship. Our Saviour, the Virgin, and the various saints, male and female, of the calendar, were successively chiselled out; and these representations of the human form, meant for actual portraits, were thus added to the emblematic outline of animals and vegetables, already described.

Among men of weak judgments and strong imaginations, the copy will, by degrees, obtain the worship which is only due to the original; and this happened among the Greeks, until the excess of the evil produced its diminution. It raised the fears of the clergy, and the fury of the iconoclasts: the former prohibited, the latter destroyed, every species of sculptured image; and, at last, a synod, convened by Constantine, the son

of Leo the Isaurian, branded them with a condemnation, which caused their entire abolition in the churches of the Greeks.

But to this synod the Latin bishops had refused to accede. Nor was this refusal the first act of their rebellion against the authority, possessed by right, or assumed over them, by the Greek sovereigns.

Had Rome, like Constantinople, continued to preserve a sovereign of its own, had there still existed an emperor of the West as well as of the East, the Roman pontiff might have continued subject to his own prince, as the patriarch of Constantinople remained submissive to his : but such authority as, after the extinction of the Roman empire, the Greek emperors might conceive themselves to have acquired over the Roman pontiff, was of a nature arduous to enforce and difficult to retain. Assisted by bishops whose own interests coincided with his views, the constant aim of the Roman pontiff was to shake off all allegiance to the Greek emperor, and all communion with the Greek church : this long concerted scheme the decree against imagery at last enabled him to accomplish. A synod of Latin bishops declared the decree of that assembled by Constantine heretical ; those that enforced it, excommunicated ; and the church of Rome, thenceforward, independent of that of Constantinople.

At first, even in the Latin church, images had been admitted cautiously, and with a sort of discretion : but after the struggle for them had become the cause or the pretext of an entire separation between that and the Greek church, devotion and pride alike demanded that

the right should be established, the distinction marked, and the triumph signalized, by their unrestricted multiplication.

And this accordingly happened. Rome indeed, the sacred city, from whence the solemn sanction of images had issued, was the place whose architecture it could least influence. Rome might still, in mere extent, surpass all the other cities of Italy, but its size was only that of a gigantic corpse. In population, in industry, in means, in activity of the vital principle, it had become inferior to many other cities of the peninsula, which, in their turn, had risen to be the capitals of kingdoms, or the residences of courts,—to Milan, to Ravenna, to Venice, to Verona, and to Pavia: and such was the contempt its inhabitants inspired, that the very Lombards, when they wished to apply to a man the most vilifying appellation, called him a Roman.

Hence in Rome we see no churches of any importance, of the style of architecture intervening between that of the primitive basilica, erected previous to the total decline of the city, and that of the modern antique church, built on its re-emerging from its abandonment, in the fifteenth century; or, consequently, exhibiting the exuberant imagery of that style. But this we behold, during that period, in every other place in Europe where churches arose according to the Latin form, whatever other changes their architecture might experience. Some very old buildings both in and out of Italy—such as, at Ancona, San Ciriaco; at Verona, the cathedral, and San Zenone; at Pavia, San Michele; at Arles, St. Trophemius; at Toulouse,

Saint Saturnin ; at Bordeaux, the church of Sainte Croix ; at Angoulême, that of Saint Pierre ; at Poitiers, that of Notre Dame la Grande—seem, in their porches, and other prominent parts, rather a congregation of mere figures, than of architectural members only adorned with such ; and, in number of statues of every size, excel the richest of the later churches in the pointed style.

It is true that, perhaps from some remaining scruple as to the propriety of connecting imagery with worship, those ancient churches, generally with an exterior loaded with figures, exhibit an interior comparatively plain. The saints and sovereigns of stone and marble are still, like the penitents of old, kept in the porch out of doors, nor suffered to penetrate into the nave, or to approach the altar.

The oldest Latin churches subsequent to the basilica, generally present in their frontispiece the figure of our Saviour, or the Virgin, or the patron saint, in a niche, or a projecting canopy, formed of two small pillars, or brackets supporting an arched pediment, such as we see adorning the front of the domes at Modena, and at Piacenza ; that of the round church of Santa Maria degli Angioli, near the Roman gate of Sienna ; that of St. Antonio, over his church at Brescia ; of San Giorgio, over his church at Ferrara ; and in other towns of Lombardy ; or in a modillion, or *vesica piscis*, such as we behold at Arles, in the porch of St. Trophemius ; at Angoulême, in the front of Saint Pierre ; at Poitiers, in that of Notre Dame la Grande ; and over the west entrance of St. Cunibert at Cologne.

Frequently the four figures emblematic of the evangelists are disposed round this canopy or modillion, in a square or lozenge form, as we may see both in the front and side porch of the dome of Modena; and in the front only of the church of San Ciriaco at Ancona; of the dome at Spoleto; of the church of St. Gravier, near Arles; of the cathedral of Angoulême; and even of the old church of Barpeston, in England; where, however, they are so defaced as to be scarcely cognisable.

Other events and personages of the Old and New Testament, and of the Saints' Calendar, appear either singly in compartments, or niches, square or round-headed, or in numbers, disposed in a row, horizontal or perpendicular, and either separated from each other by similar compartments, or contiguous and in close array: and these bands or ropes of figures traverse, at different heights, like so many zones or friezes, the front of the edifice, or run up the jambs, or circulate round the arches of the porch and windows, as we see in the principal churches at Verona;\* in St. Michele of Pavia; San Ciriaco of Ancona; in a church of Brescia; St. Trophemius of Arles; Sainte Croix of Bordeaux; St. Pierre of Angoulême: Notre Dame la Grande of Poitiers; and innumerable other churches.

Even the figure and the feats of the lay founder of a church sometimes appear in these *basso relievos*.

At Verona, in the beginning of the sixth century belonging to the Gothic kingdom of Italy, and at the

\* Plate VI.

close of the eighth century again wrested, with all their other possessions, from the Lombard kings of that fair country, by Charlemagne, a *basso rilievo* in the front of the old church of San Zenone is supposed to represent the Gothic king Theodoric on horseback, following the chase: and another *basso rilievo*,\* in the front of the dome, is known to record those famous paladins of Charlemagne, Orlando, and Oliver his companion, from the name of the sword of the former, Durindarte, inscribed on the scabbard. Another *basso rilievo* represents men fighting with griffins. At Pavia, the ancient capital of the kings of Lombardy, the ancient church of San Michele likewise represents combats and chases, which are equally found in other Lombard churches.

To these scriptural and historical subjects were added others of a moral or allegorical description. The four cardinal virtues, the opposite vices, and their effects, are seen at Toulouse, in the side porch of Saint Saturnin; at Bordeaux, in the principal entrance of Sainte Croix. Another church displayed the whole journey of King Dagobert through purgatory unto the gates of heaven; and whatever frailties peculiar monastic orders were disposed to cherish, found, at a later period, in rival orders, faithful recorders, not only in the external porches of their churches, but in the very stalls of the choir and precincts of the sanctuary.

In places which required peculiar security against the influence of evil spirits, at the entrance of churches,

\* Plate XXVII.

sanctuaries, and cloisters, around the thrones of bishops, the pulpits of preachers, and the tombs of the dead, were stationed, as sentinels and protectors, terrific and monstrous beings — lions, sphinxes, griffins, chimeras, and others supposed to possess a peculiar power of preventing the approach of these invisible enemies, or paralysing their ill intent; often represented in the very act of destroying some other animal, and on their backs the supporting pillars were fancied to have more strength than on the securest foundations.

At Rome, in the cloisters of San Giovanni Laterano,\* the opposite entrances are guarded by lions and sphinxes. Wingless sphinxes, like those of the Egyptians, hover over the porch of the church of St. Anthony; and sphinxes with wings, like those of the Greeks, form a fence round the ambo of San Cesareo; chimeras support the bishop's throne of Santa Maria in Trastevere; and lions' heads and claws that of Santa Maria in Cosmedin. The screen of the choir in the dome of Modena is guarded by lions in *alto rilievo*; that in the cathedral of Torcello presents lions in *basso rilievo*, grouped with pea-fowl. In the centre porch of the dome of Ferrara,† the double-knotted pillars stand on human figures, resembling those in the *basso rilievo* of Persepolis, themselves crouching on lions devouring lambs, while other lions and griffins, without riders, watch the side entrances. On the contrary, beside the centre porch of the dome of Piacenza,‡ the columns stand on single lions; and beside the lateral porches on crouching human figures. In the

\* Plate XXV.

† Plate XXVIII.

‡ Plate XXIX.



porch of a church at Pesaro, grotesque figures equally bestride the king of brutes; and in the cathedral of San Quirico, a small Tuscan town between Radicofani and Sienna, the front entrance offers quadruple interlaced columns on lions, and the side entrance is flanked by a knight and a civilian standing on similar animals. In the porch of the dome of Verona,\* the griffins that support its pillars play with balls; on the south entrance of that of Modena they devour oxen and sheep; in the porch of San Ciriaco at Ancona, they subdue serpents. Before the cathedrals of Mantua, of Parma,† of San Donino, and others, the lions that support the pillars are, as far as I recollect, alike without riders or victims. In the porch of Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo, the pillars stand on lions surrounded by children and by their own cubs. Similar figures of lions support the pillared canopies of later gothic tombs, at Sant' Eustorgio, in Milan, and in other places too numerous to mention. Even in Germany we see the lion, smaller and less daring, only half start forward from the pillars of St. Peter's,‡ Gelnhausen, and the Rheinhof, Cologne.

In most churches the jambs and archivolts of the doors, and sometimes the frames of the windows, offer the greatest profusion of sculpture. At Ancona, the church of San Ciriaco; at Pavia, that of San Michele;§ at Arles, that of Saint Trophemius; at Toulouse, that of Saint Saturnin; at Bordeaux, that of Sante Croix; at Angoulême, that of St. Pierre; and

\* Plate XXVII.

† Plate XXXI.

‡ Plate XXX.

§ Plate XXXII.

at Poitiers, that of Notre Dame la Grande, present a prodigious number of *bassi relievi* circulating round the doorways: and at Rome, the entrance of the church of Santa Pudenziana, and a church at Brescia, display similar framings, less heavy but not less elegant.\*

The bases and capitals of columns, as well as the architraves and friezes, the archivolts and cornices they supported, were often most sumptuously sculptured. Strange masks and animals often run under the fasciæ and string courses, nay, the scalloped edging or belt; which, in the churches after the Lombard style, invariably runs round the top of every story of a building, often exhibited its impost, its arches, and its spandrels adorned with different animals. Such we see at Parma in the dome, at Verona in San Zenone.

Wherever, indeed, ancient Roman relics of some importance remained, as models for later sculptors to copy, and where there existed a demand for later works in which they might be imitated, the Lombard and Carolingian, and even later monuments, present in bases and capitals of columns, and in archivolts and cornices, so close an imitation of the later antique style, that it is difficult to know the difference.

\* No doubt, of each architectural peculiarity of which I quote examples, many others exist which I cite not; but I only describe that which I have observed; and, unfortunately, in my early travels I chiefly thought of noticing those productions of more ancient or more modern art, which numberless others had remarked before, and to which every guide and book directed my attention, instead of seeking those distant architectural approximations of the middle ages, which have yet been so little attended to, and which might make an interesting object to a traveller in the East as well as in Italy.

At Ravenna, in the nave of Sant' Apollinare, the capitals of the columns are only a rude imitation of the antique; but at Verona, along the sides and absis of the dome,\* the capitals of the pilasters, their friezes and their cornices, resemble the Corinthian and Composite to such a degree that they have the appearance of some of the most elegant works of the cinquecento style; and even in France, at Autun, whose ancient Roman gates still present rich specimens of Corinthian pilasters, in a cathedral begun in the round and finished in the pointed style, the fluted pilasters of the nave offer proportions wholly Composite under the pointed arches they carry. At Avignon, the Lombard cupola of the old church of the Dom looks like a Roman structure.

In general, however, capitals became compositions of scrolls and foliage very different from and much less bold than those of the ancients; or combinations of animals and human beings, sometimes simply imitated from nature, in other instances monstrous and grotesque.

Of the grotesque sort, we see singular specimens in the cloisters of St. Stephen at Bologna; round the dome of Modena; in the nave of San Zenone at Verona; at Arles, in the cathedral; at Aix, in the cloisters of St. Sauveur; at Paris, in St. Germain des Prés, sculptured, under the direction of the Abbots Ingon and Morard, in the beginning of the eleventh century; at Gelnhausen in Germany, among the remains of Barbarossa's palace;† and even in

\* Plate XXXIII.

† Plate XXXIV.

England, if not in the undercrypt, or French church, of the cathedral of Canterbury, supposed by some to have been built in the ninth century, and perfectly resembling those of St. Grymbald's crypt at Oxford, at least in the later and loftier parts of that edifice.

The severity of ancient architecture required that the two component sides of an entire edifice, situated right and left of the common central point or line, should correspond, not only in the general dimensions, but peculiar designs of their ornamental parts. If there had been a thousand columns in a single row, each would have had a capital or base similar, in its minutest embellishments, to all the rest. The architects of the middle ages were less strict: *bassi relievi*, inserted in different sides of a single front, correspond not even in size — seldom do they in subject; if one contains figures, that opposite perhaps only displays foliage. The front of the dome of San Zenone at Verona, of the dome at Modena, and of San Michele at Pavia, are full of these discrepancies. In the same way, the opposite shafts or jambs of the same porch are often of a wholly different design; and as to the capitals, where these are highly wrought, or with figures, it appears that making two alike would have been considered as poverty of imagination.

If the porphyry columns in the palace of the Cæsars, carrying in *alto rilievo*, hewn out of the same block, the embracing figures of Arcadius and Honorius; if the brass doors of San Paolo at Rome, and of San Zenone at Verona,—wrought by artists from Constantinople,—are of workmanship so rude as to

resemble productions of the South Sea savages, we may well expect that the later sculpture of the middle ages should be poorly executed. Indeed, certain of the practical difficulties of foreshortening of draperies, only surmountable by the utmost skill, caused the figures produced in the decline of art to bear, in many particulars, a striking resemblance to those wrought in its infancy. The church of San Ciriaco at Ancona, that of Torcello, and that of St. Saturnin at Toulouse, afford figures in *basso relievo* which might pass for those of the early Greek style.

In arabesques, in modillions, and in foliage, — things less difficult to execute, — a greater elegance was often preserved. At Rome, the cloisters of San Paolo and of San Giovanni present friezes which, without the boldness, have the elegance of the antique; and the door of Santa Pudenziana offers, in its alternate arabesques and modillions, an exquisite taste: so do many of the designs in the front of San Ciriaco at Ancona; of the church of San Donino; and of the baptistery at Parma; in the screen round the choir of the dome of Torcello; round the sides and back of San Zenone, and of the dome at Verona; round the windows of Sant' Abondio near Como, and round the niches of Saint Pierre at Angoulême; as well as in Germany, round the transepts of the cathedral of Spire.\*

\* Plate XXXV.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## SEPULCHRAL ARCHITECTURE.

**Tombs**, while they are what they should be,—real receptacles of the dead,—form a branch of architecture as well as the abodes of the living; they appertain to the art of construction as much as to that of sculpture. Indeed, among the first Christians, tombs may be said to have formed a part of sacred architecture: they were only erected on consecrated ground, in or around churches.

As ancient tombs have sometimes been mistaken for temples, ancient lavacra, or baths, have been mistaken for tombs. The porphyry cistern at Rome, found in the Pantheon, and now placed in the Corsini chapel, might have served to lave the limbs of a Roman emperor ere it was made to contain the body of a pope. That other porphyry receptacle, now immured in the front of the building at Ravenna, called Theodoric's palace, but more probably that of the later exarchs, supposed to have contained, on the top of Theodoric's monument, the body of that king, likewise in its form proclaims itself a bath.

In allusion to its particular destination,—that of being man's last dwelling here below,—the real ancient

sarcophagus was usually made to imitate, in its general outline, that of a house. Even the smaller cinerary urn, only destined to contain ashes, was, in general, made to preserve that shape.

The first Christians seem still to have adhered, in their tombs, to those general forms and proportions suitable to the destination of those receptacles; nay, to that peculiar imitation of the prominent parts of the house, introduced by the heathens.

The projecting eaves, the sharp spine, the rounded convex tiles of the ancient habitation, and the antique sarcophagus, appear equally at Rome on the porphyry tomb, with supposed bacchanalian emblems, which once held the body of Santa Constantia; at Constantinople, on the tomb of the same material, marked with the cross, supposed to belong to Constantine, now at Ravenna; in the tomb of Galla Placidia, daughter of Theodosius, sister of Arcadius and Honorius\*, widow of Ataulphus, king of the Lombards, and of Constantius Cæsar, and mother of Valentinian III., and in the tomb of Constantius, her second husband, in the church of San Nazareo and Celso; in the huge sarcophagus, of the corner of a street in Padua, foolishly called that of Evander; in numberless ancient tombs scattered about Verona; in the ancient Christian sarcophagus before the church of San Stefano, at Bologna; in that of a doge of the eleventh century, immured in the front of San Giovanni and Paolo, at Venice; in the porphyry sarcophagus of the Norman princes in the church of Monreale, near Palermo; and in the more modern

\* Plate XXXVI.

white marble sarcophagi of the lords of Rimini, ranged round the Gothic cathedral of their small capital.



At Ravenna, and at Ravenna alone, the greatest proportion of the numerous tombs of an early date, still preserved, display, perhaps, in imitation of a style prevailing at the same period in Constantinople, a form quite peculiar, beheld nowhere else, namely, that of a large coffer, with a convex top or lid. Of this form is the tomb of the Emperor Honorius,\* in the same church of San Nazareo and Celso, with that of his sister Placidia;\* that of St. Barbation, confessor to the princess; and another, in which Rinaldo, Archbishop of Ravenna, in 1321, took the place of an older tenant in the dome; the ten, said to have been ordered by Theodoric, and ranged against the walls of Sant' Apollinare in Classi, which now contain the ashes of archbishops of the eighth century; and a number of others, through the city, all apparently of the fifth century.

In the later eras of pagan Rome, tombs seem to have been kept ready made in the shops for the chance buyer; and profusion being more sought than propriety in the ornament, it is not uncommon to find a sarcophagus, whose warlike *bassi relievi* seem to mark the receptacle of a soldier, while the inscription shows it to be that of a young girl. Indeed, after Christians had begun to appropriate to themselves the rich spoils of paganism, a Christian saint was often deposited in the tomb of a heathen warrior; and we as frequently find mythological subjects among the *bassi relievi* of

\* Plate XXXVI.



sepulchres, as on the cameos that deck the shrines of the most renowned Christian saints.

Of the tombs wrought on purpose for deceased Christians, some in the sarcophagus form are quite plain ; but many (all those, indeed, of the trunk shape) present the peculiar emblems, such as the vine, the palm-tree, the lamb, the dove, the deer, and the phoenix, together with the sacred monogram and crown of martyrdom, expressive of the doctrine, faith, and hope of the Christian. The sarcophagus at Venice, in front of San Giovanni and Paolo, inscribed with the date of 1088, presents angels and crosses wrought in a rude style. The characters of the inscription are in form resembling those of the Russians or Slavonians (who took theirs from the Greeks of the middle ages), which preceded the German pointed or black letter: the M , the E , and so forth.

When the typical tomb of the Christians, the altar, was surmounted by a canopy, the real lamb was likewise sometimes made to support, on some small pillars resting on its body, a detached stone roof in the shape of a canopy.

Such we see over the old tomb outside San Lorenzo at Rome ; such, but very rude, over the tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon, and of Baldwin, his brother, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem ; such over the tomb of Emperor Frederic II., in the cathedral of Palermo ; and such over other very old tombs. At a later period, the pillars were made to support arched pediments, and, like little chapels, to surround rather than to stand upon the tomb ; and, by degrees,

we see these cells or temples assume the most fanciful forms. Nothing can exceed the extravagance of those of the Scaligeri at Verona, erected in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At Venice, many of these later tombs have equestrian figures galloping over them—witness the four, high in the wall of San Giovanni and Paolo.

Pagan tombs were not always confined to subterraneous situations. If many were placed in real caverns, many were raised on artificial mountains of stone; such were, in Egypt, the Pyramids; such was, at Rome, the Moles Hadriana. Sometimes monuments were perched at the top of a high tower; of which many remain in Syria; some over a gateway.

In Lombardy, the ancient tombs often stood in situations to us equally singular. At Verona, those of the Scaligeri are seen in the angle formed by the meeting of two streets—those of the Castelbarcos, next to the convent of Sant' Anastasia—partly on brackets high up against the wall, and partly bestriding the very wall over the cortile, and suspended over the gateway. The churches of Santa Euphemia, San Fermo,\* the Miracoli, the Apostoli, and the Notarj, offer tombs in situations equally singular and threatening.

\* Plate XXXVII.

## CHAPTER XX.

EARLY STYLES OF ARCHITECTURE ON THIS SIDE OF  
THE ALPS DERIVED FROM ITALY.

PAGAN Rome, as we have seen, had not only added to its conquests a great portion of Northern Europe, but, to a certain degree, introduced arts as well as arms within it. Many districts of Gaul, of Germany, and of Britain, were adorned with magnificent edifices, of which remains are still extant. It is singular, that when this country was the most extreme possession of a vast extended empire, the tessellated pavements of its dwellings, still occasionally dug up, should excel in magnificence all that has been produced since its more distant outskirts have, in a manner, only become the furthest connected ramifications of an immense capital situated in its very bosom. Even the Christian faith had from Rome made its way into Britain before the latter ceased to be a Roman province; and there might have been Christian churches built in England, ere it was abandoned by the Romans to the barbarians of Caledonia, and of the Northern Continent.

By degrees, Rome, debilitated through its anarchy and corruption, lost the power of protecting its distant provinces against the barbarians who assailed them on

all sides. Like a weak body, withdrawing all its vital forces from the limbs to collect them round the heart, it recalled its troops from Britain, from Germany, and from Gaul, and left them again to be overwhelmed by pagan barbarians. These countries now again fell back into their original rudeness.

Gradually, however, there arose within their bosom a second civilization, which being not, like the first, the effect of mere foreign agency, but rather the fruit of internal maturation, though more progressive, was more general, more even, and more durable; and rendered the soil more fit to receive the seeds of Christianity, and to cause them to spring up extensively and luxuriantly.

It is true that Palestine, where arose the Saviour of mankind, was a province of Syria; that the earliest followers of Christ, besides Jews, were Eastern Gentiles; that the New Testament was chiefly written in Greek; that the first forms, rulers, rites, and ministers of the Christian church received Greek denominations; that the whole vocabulary of the Christian church was derived from the Greek language; that the very bishops elected by the first Christian community, in Rome itself, bore Greek names; in short, that while Rome still remained the sole capital of the empire, the Christian church, established in its very heart, might be called more Greek than Roman.

But it is equally true that this church first flourished, first received a decided form and hierarchy, at Rome; that Rome first became, and ever remained, the most universally acknowledged head of that hierarchy; first

spread and diffused its religion throughout the rest of Europe; and that even when, at a later period, Constantinople divided with Rome the honours of a capital, and was itself that of the Eastern or Greek empire, it still continued, not only in memory of the first source and fountain head of its power and institutions, but in consideration of the weight and dignity attached to the Roman name, to call itself the second Rome — to give to its sovereigns, its subjects, its language, and its institutions, the denomination of Roman.

The religious architecture of the North might thus have claimed the appellation of Roman, even if it had been received directly from Constantinople; but, the Russian empire alone excepted, we may say that no part of the North took its sacred forms or edifices from that second capital of the Roman empire; that all the remainder of Northern Europe, with its religious institutions, even where they were originally Greek, derived its architecture immediately from the first, the original Rome. When become wholly Christian, that city had, by degrees, sought to recover, over the distant regions of the North, the power possessed by it while idolatrous, but in a different form and through different instruments. It no longer contained emperors to send legions, but it had acquired popes to send missionaries; and as countries were more distant from the focus of conversion, these only penetrated somewhat later.

While Clovis, King of France, was baptized in 496, a century had elapsed before Austin, or Augustine,

was, by Gregory the Great, deputed, with his forty monks, to convert the Saxons of England. In the time of Charlemagne, those of Germany still were Pagans; and much later than the forcible conversion which this great sovereign inflicted upon them, did the Christian faith reach Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, the most northern extremities of which are not yet Christians.

As, with the new religion, new temples were wanted; as the rude natives understood little of architecture; and as, in the most civilized parts of Europe, the laity in general were only trained to war, ecclesiastics alone exercised the arts, and particularly that of architecture, which, almost entirely confined to churches, was in a manner become almost exclusively a sacred art; the missionaries from Rome, sent to teach the Christian faith, generally brought with them their builders, and directed the construction of the churches which they made their converts raise.

Theodore, one of the early bishops of Canterbury, and a Greek, was the first, in England, to define parochial districts, for the purpose of affording to places remote from cathedrals the benefit of residing clergy. He founded a library at Canterbury; and among the books brought to England, were alike Homer's Iliad and St. Chrysostom's Homilies: Bede was his pupil.

In England, her Saxon rulers might suddenly have become excellent Christians, but they long remained wretched architects. Ecclesiastical historians all concur in asserting that the first churches were built in the Roman style. According to Bede, Naitan, king

of the Picts, converted from paganism by Abbot Ceolfred, the friend and successor of Benedict Biscop, solicits that prelate to send him architects able to build him a church after the Roman manner; and Edwin, first Christian king of the Northumbrians, builds, in 627, his church at York, under the direction of Paulinus, a missionary from Rome. St. Wilfred, who, in 674, built in Northumberland the celebrated cathedral of Hexham, and after that the church of Ripon, of Hagulstead, and others, had himself learnt architecture at Rome, and expressly brought with him from that city, and frequently returned to it for the purpose of recruiting, his artificers and workmen; and the images and figures in his church of Hexham are expressly described by Eddeus as having been carved by artists from Rome. St. Benedict Biscop, the companion of Wilfred, who, the year after the foundation of Hexham cathedral, began the monastery at Wearmouth, likewise procured his artificers from abroad, and built his church *more Romano*. Eadmer describes the old church at Canterbury as "*Vetus ecclesia Romanorum opere facta.*" The churches in the time of Alfred, who imported both arts and artists from Rome, were built *more Romano*; and as often as, about that period, mention is made of saints and bishops erecting churches, they are always called "*opus Romanum.*" If even in England, at that period, an edifice was constructed by an ecclesiastic or an architect, not a Roman—like the round-headed crypt of St. Peter's at Oxford, said to have been raised under Alfred by St. Grimbald, a Frenchman — it was still designed after

the Roman fashion, as prevalent in France as in England. Indeed, the first church erected as far north as Upsala in Sweden, is expressly said to have been built *more Romano*.

Of that Roman style, the earliest specimen still standing in England a distinct visible object, is the ruined part of the priory begun in 598, at Canterbury, by king Ethelbert, at the persuasion of St. Augustine, still called St. Ethelbert's tower. It displays, from its base to its top, different fasciæ of those small columns in contact with the wall, supporting round-headed arches, either small and single, or larger, themselves each containing a group of lesser ones; the space between which is filled up with the species of mosaic work or reticulations in stone, which we see in many edifices of the same age, not churches, on the eastern side of Italy, and on the shores of the Adriatic, such as the Palazzo Publico at Fano, at Ferrara, and at Piacenza.\* The cathedral of Hexham must, according to the description of it given in 1180, by its prior, Richard, have much resembled the Roman, and still more the Grecian, churches of the same era, at least in its galleries, where the women might attend divine service unseen by the men; but of that and the other churches here mentioned, no trace remains, for they were all levelled to the ground by the Danes, no less diligent destroyers of old churches in England, than their neighbours the Normans were in France.

Of the conventual church founded at Ely, a year before the cathedral of Hexham, by St. Etheldrida,

\* Plate XXIV.



wife of Egfred, King of Northumberland, at the persuasion of St. Wilfred, whom, the Chronicle says, this princess loved beyond all things, and in fact left her husband to follow; and which probably was in the same style with the other churches built by the holy bishop; some relics still exist, but so incorporated with the prebendal buildings as hardly to remain cognisable. They consist of columns, either round or polygonic, presenting rudiments of the same sort of crystallization which is seen in the Lombard style of the same era, supporting round-headed arches, ornamented with the zig-zag or chevron, lozenge, cable, and billet mouldings, common to all the buildings in Italy of the same era; which, in later times, has had its appropriate name of Roman most strangely changed for that of Saxon; and more recently, with not much more reason, for that of Norman, since the Normans only imitated the architecture which they found, and which originated in Italy, inasmuch as it was customary on the north as well as on the south of the Alps, to employ, in raising these new fabrics, the materials of the ancient Roman edifices, otherwise useless or in ruins.

Thus we find, at Colchester, St. Botolph's ancient priory entirely built of the thin Roman bricks borrowed from the neighbouring Roman theatre or temple; whence the round pillars supporting the circular arches were of necessity made thicker than where large blocks of stone or marble offered materials more solid and cohering.

Indeed, as it seldom happened out of Italy, and especially in England, that the constructors of these

new buildings found, among the remains of the ancients, which they made their quarries, large solid shafts of columns, to employ ready made, or even stones of sufficient size to cut into entire cylinders for their pillars—as in general they only formed these out of smaller rubbish—they were frequently obliged to make up for the want of solidity in the material by the thickness of the mass ; and in their earlier churches, still extant, of what has been erroneously called the Saxon style, to give to the pillars that clumsiness which we see in those of Durham cathedral, of which I know only one instance in France, in the church of St. Nasaire, at Old Carcassone, built in 1096, and of which I remember no precedent beyond the Alps.

Of these earlier churches, as of the Roman basilicas, the ceilings were, in general, of wood ; and such is still that of the nave in Ely Cathedral.

After the Heptarchy, and during the incursions of the Danes, more churches were, for a time, destroyed than erected in England, and architecture in this country remained wholly stationary, or rather retrograded a second time ; as it had done the first, after its dereliction by the Romans, and the ravages of the Caledonians and the Saxons. No sacred edifices of any importance arose, until, about the middle of the tenth century, was founded, in Huntingdonshire, the abbey church of Romsey ; and a little later, namely, in 980, were built at Winchester, under the auspices of Bishop Ethelwold, the crypts of its cathedral.

## CHAPTER XXI.

INVESTIGATION OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH,  
TOWARDS THE END OF THE TENTH CENTURY,  
AFFECTED ARCHITECTURE GENERALLY AND EX-  
TENSIVELY THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

A PHENOMENON had by this time taken place in architecture, which distinguished its mode of progressive development from that of all other arts. In general, those of utility, as from their fountain head they spread to countries more distant and climates more different, are also liable to receive, from local exigencies and customs, modifications more strikingly diversified; and the art of building being, of those useful arts, the one which, in every country, is most intimately connected with its peculiarities of latitude and modes of life, should thence seem more liable than any other art to exhibit discrepancies the most striking and palpable.

Again, as a more generally diffused civilization renders, between regions most distant, intercourse and communication of every sort more easy, and rapid, and frequent, every new invention of elegance and taste arising in any country in particular, is usually wafted to, and adopted in, all the others more quickly and more universally.

With respect to architecture alone, during the middle ages, the case was reversed in both particulars.

In the first place, we may say that the architecture of Christian Rome and Greece showed, in its different specimens, more local diversities at the epoch when it only had advanced to the foot of the Alps, and only prevailed in latitudes nearly parallel—when the European tracts situated to the north of them, more different in temperature and climate, still only reared the rudest wooden fabrics—than when, after overleaping this tremendous barrier, it advanced successively through France and Germany, to the farthest habitable region of Northern Europe, and became established in countries and climates most distant and dissimilar: that, precisely as it compassed regions more various, it assumed a face and features more uniform; and that, in Cæsar's time, a habitation in Helvetia differed more from a dwelling on the Po or Adige, than did, in that of William the Conqueror, the church reared in England or in Sweden from that raised in Sicily or in Palestine.

We may, in the second place, assert, that after the architecture of sacred edifices had thus, throughout the parts of Europe most distant and different, acquired the most striking similitude; but while civilization still was confined, commerce still torpid, and intercourse between different states, nay, between the nearest places of each, singly, difficult and slow; while, consequently, improvements, even in every other branch of industry, which is most rapidly wrought, and most easily transported,

made their way most sluggishly to the shortest distances ;—in architecture alone—in that art precisely whose productions arise slowest and are most stationary, least liable to be transformed by every slightest change of taste and breath of fashion—every new form and combination arising in any particular spot was made to reach and to be adopted in every other distant point more rapidly and universally, than in that later period in which commerce and civilization have produced a more constant intercourse between the nations of Europe. When, for instance, the change in arches took place from round-headed to pointed, this transformation was made throughout all Europe almost simultaneously ; and the churches half finished in the round style were not only completed in the new fashion, but, where feasible, had the parts already built altered from the round to the pointed style. At present, when the most rapid circulation pervades every part of Europe, not only in each different country, but different city of the same country, each single individual follows his own peculiar fancy, and erects a fabric wholly different from that of his neighbour ; and the same street shows, side by side, the Greek, the Gothic, the Egyptian, the Chinese, and all these mixed together.

This deviation from the common progress of other arts, so peculiar to architecture alone — in that art, so striking and general — this similarity in the style of buildings erected at the same era in the most distant countries, and the instantaneous universality of every change, however minute, in this style, must have had a cause peculiar to the case, and acting upon it most

generally and most powerfully ; and this cause we shall here attempt to point out.

In those ages of barbarism, when the lay portion of the community was fully employed in warfare and devastation, when churches and convents were the only retreats of peace and security, they also became the chief foci of productive industry. Convents have long been celebrated, in those ages, as the chief asylums of letters. They also deserve to be remembered as the sole laboratories of art : not only painting, sculpture, enamelling, engraving, and portraiture, but even architecture was chiefly exercised in them ; and the more, as the edifices which showed any elegance of skill were only required for sacred purposes. In every region where a religious order wanted a new church or convent, it was so ordinary a thing for the superior, the prior, the abbot, nay, the bishop, to give the design, and for the monks to fulfil, under his direction, every department of the execution, from the meanest to the highest ; that the examples in Italy, France, Germany, and England, would swell this work beyond my intentions. In different countries, the head monasteries of the various orders by degrees ramified into many others, even among the nations distantly related ; and the monks of each performed frequent journeys for the concerns of their peculiar monastery, or the order in general. As there existed no inns to receive them, they reposed in the other convents on their road ; and at a period of total want of general communication in other departments, the different religious communities were very minutely and rapidly informed of each other's

affairs : hence, not only the peculiar style of architecture of the chief edifice of each order served as a model to that of the others belonging to it, however distant ; but any change of taste or fashion in the former soon made its way to, and was adopted by, all the others.

But another cause, still more universal, produced the uniformity of church architecture throughout Europe during the middle ages. Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern empire — of that empire which alone preserved its native sovereigns, with only a temporary interruption, from the day when Constantine transferred thither his residence, to that when another Constantine fell before the Turks—Constantinople was the city which preserved the arts, the sciences, the industry, and the civilization of the ancient world, most uninterrupted, during the whole series of the middle ages, until the fatal period when it became the seat of a new dynasty, the property of a new nation, and the centre of a new religion ; but, like a soil long submitted to cultivation, it preserved ancient industry and inventions stationary rather than progressive — it was not able, like a soil still fresh and virgin, to afford new, developments.

But when Rome, the original capital of the empire, the Eternal City, was first abandoned, even by its own sovereigns, for Milan and Ravenna ; when these, and the still more secondary city of Pavia, successively became the seats of new courts, and the capitals of new kingdoms ; such seems to have been the stimulus given by a new soil to the few seeds scattered upon it

of an ancient civilization, that on settling in the fertile tracts of Northern Italy, a rude and barbarous nation — the Longobardi — in the space of two short centuries, produced, in trade, in legislation, in finance, in industry of every description, new developments so great, that from them, and from the regions to which they attached their name, has issued the whole of that ingenious and complex system of bills of exchange, banks, insurances, double book-keeping, commercial and maritime laws, and public loans, since adopted all over Europe, — all over Europe retaining, in their peculiar appellations, the trace and landmark of their origin, — and all over Europe affording to capital and commerce, an ease, an activity, and a security, unknown before.

The bud, on first peeping forth from the parent soil, requires protection from the rude external elements. Nature has, in husks and envelopes, secured this assistance for the tender plant, while in its infancy, and provided for its emancipation, by the dropping off of these when they would become a detrimental check to its further expansion. In the like manner, new inventions, new essays of human industry and art, require, for the shelter, the support, the maturation of their infancy, aid which, afterwards, when they gain consistency and vigour, will only become a restraint on their further advancement.

When, in the kingdom established by the Lombards in the north of Italy, the old cities, by their wise regulations, had begun to teem with a new industry, and new cities to arise, — but while, nevertheless, the know-



ledge of certain arts was still difficult to obtain, the exercise of them laborious, and the fruits slow, rare, and uncertain,—its kings, its lesser lords, and the municipalities that by degrees arose, were induced, in their wisdom or weakness, at one time from motives of public policy, at others of private advantage, to encourage artificers of different professions.

Thus of their own accord, they granted, or were tempted in their distresses to sell, licences to form associations possessed of the exclusive privilege of exercising their peculiar trades, and making them an object of profit; of requiring that youths anxious to be associated with their body, and ultimately to be endowed with the mastery of the profession, should submit to a fixed and often severe course of study, under the name of apprenticeship, for their masters' benefit, and in addition, should frequently be compelled to pay a considerable premium; and of preventing any individual, not thus admitted into their body, from establishing a competition against them.

These associations received the name of free corporations, or Guilds.

Lombardy and the adjacent Italian states were the first parts of Western Europe which awakened to industry, to trade, and to independence. Not only their sea-ports on the Adriatic and the Mediterranean became the emporiums of all the trade between Western Europe and the regions of the East, but their natives gradually exhibited, in every different kingdom of Europe, companies of merchants, taken under the immediate protection of the several governments, and

endowed by them with extensive immunities and privileges, which, under the generic appellation of Lombards, thus became the carriers, the manufacturers, and the bankers of all Europe, and remained so until the spirit of industry and trade crossed the Alps. And these bodies, in order to enjoy the exclusive exercise of their profession, and that its profits should be secured to them, not only by the law, but by the inability of others to violate it, by degrees made their business, or craft, as they called it, a profound mystery from the world at large, and only suffered their own apprentices to be initiated in its higher branches and improvements, most gradually: and in every place where a variety of paths of industry and art were struck out, these crafts, these corporations, these masterships, and these mysteries, became so universally prevalent, that not only the arts of a wholly mechanic nature, but even those of the most exalted and intellectual species — those which in ancient times had been considered the exclusive privilege of freemen and citizens, and thence dignified with the name of liberal — were submitted to all the narrow rules of corporations, and connected with all the servile offices of apprenticeship. We find at Venice, the very painters formed, in 1290, into a distinct corporation; whence, when the Italians mention their different schools of painting, they talk of a class of things and persons more definite in their peculiar attributes and in their constituent conditions, more intimately linked together, and more distinct from others, than we are, in general, aware of, or than we mean to designate in talking of the English or French

schools : thence is derived, in the different members of each of those Italian schools, that striking resemblance of touch and manner, that universal and exclusive possession of peculiar merits, and liability to peculiar defects, that superior excellence of colour in the artists of the Venetian, of design in those of the Roman, and that blending of both in those of the Bolognese schools, which, in our nominal modern schools, we should in vain seek, because the same cause does not exist to produce them.

When Rome became abandoned and neglected ; when Milan, when Ravenna, when Pavia, when Verona, from being remote provincial cities, were successively raised to the rank of capitals ; when numerous other cities grew or arose around them ; when the improvements already made in them by Theodoric, King of the Goths, were still exceeded by those of the Lombard kings and queens, eager to signalize their zeal in their new Christian faith, by filling their dominions with churches and monasteries ; it may be supposed, that among the arts exercised and improved in Lombardy, that of building held a pre-eminent rank, and was the more important, because the want of those ancient edifices to which they might recur for materials already wrought, and which Rome afforded in such abundance, made the architects of these more remote regions dependent on their own skill, and free to follow their own conceptions : and, in fact, we find in Muratori, that already, under the Lombard kings, the inhabitants of Como were so superior as masons and bricklayers, that the appellation of *magistri Comacini*,

or masters from Como, became generic to all those of the profession.

We cannot then wonder that, at a period when artificers and artists of every class, from those of the most mechanical, to those of the most intellectual nature, formed themselves into exclusive corporations, architects — whose art may be said to offer the most exact medium between those of the most urgent necessity and those of mere ornament, or, indeed, in its wide span to embrace both—should, above all others, have associated themselves into similar bodies, which, in conformity to the general style of such corporations, assumed that of free and accepted masons, and was composed of those members, who, after a regular passage through the different fixed stages of apprenticeship, were received as masters, and entitled to exercise the profession on their own account.

In an age, however, in which lay individuals from the lowest subject to the sovereign himself, seldom built, except for mere shelter and safety—seldom sought, nay, rather avoided, in their dwellings, an elegance which might lessen their security, — in which even the community collectively, in its public and general capacity, divided into component parts less numerous and less varied, required not those numerous public edifices which we possess either for business or pleasure;—thus, when neither domestic nor civic architecture of any sort demanded great ability, or afforded great employment, churches, and monasteries, were the only buildings required to combine extent and elegance, and sacred architecture alone could furnish

an extensive field for the exercise of great skill;— Lombardy itself, opulent and thriving as it was, compared to other countries, soon became nearly saturated with the requisite edifices, and unable to give these companies of free and accepted masons a longer continuance of sufficient custom, or to render the further maintenance of their exclusive privileges of great benefit to them at home. But if, to the south of the Alps, an earlier civilization had at last caused the number of architects to exceed that of new buildings wanted, it fared otherwise in the north of Europe, where a gradually spreading Christianity began on every side to produce a want of sacred edifices, of churches and monasteries, to design which architects existed not on the spot.

Those Italian corporations of builders, therefore, whose services ceased to be necessary in the countries where they had arisen, now began to look abroad towards those northern climes, for that employment which they no longer found at home: and a certain number united, and formed themselves into a single greater association, or fraternity, which proposed to seek for occupation beyond its native land; and in any ruder foreign region, however remote, where new religious edifices, and skilful artists to erect them, were wanted, to offer their services, and bend their steps to undertake the work.

These corporations,—no longer destined to exercise their profession in any single country, but in whatever regions, most distant from each other, might require their services,—seeking a monopoly, as it were, over the

whole face of Christendom,—required an authority, a protection, an exclusive privilege, a prohibition to all such as were not members of their body — even the very natives of the countries whither they went as mere strangers, with the intent of wresting all the employment out of the native hands — which no single temporal sovereign could give them, out of his own dominions, or would give them within these. This they could only obtain in the different parts of Europe that acknowledged the religious supremacy of the Pope, from that head of the whole Latin church. In countries that embraced the Latin creed, or harboured its monastic orders, and thus became religious vassals of the Pope, and professed allegiance to him, the erection of new churches and monasteries was in a manner to raise new estates to the Pope himself.

The masons could be regarded only as different troops of labourers working in the cause of the Pope, as much as the missionaries who were sent before to collect business for them ; and thus they obtained the requisite powers, probably, soon after Charlemagne had put an end to the kingdom of Lombardy, and the fears of the popes from that quarter, by annexing those dominions to his empire. They were fraught with papal bulls, or diplomas, not only confirming the corporate powers given to them by their own native sovereign, on their own native soil, but granting to them, in every other foreign country which they might visit for purposes connected with their association, where the Latin creed was avowed, and the supremacy, of its spiritual head acknowledged, the right of

holding directly and solely under the Pope alone, entire exemption from all local laws and statutes, edicts of the sovereign, or municipal regulations, whether with regard to the force of labour, or any other, binding upon the native subjects : they acquired the power, not only themselves to fix the price of their labour, but to regulate whatever else might appertain to their own internal government, exclusively in their own general chapters ; prohibiting all native artists not admitted into their society from entering with it into any sort of competition, and all native sovereigns from supporting their subjects in such rebellion against the church, and commanding all such temporal subjects to respect these credentials, and to obey these mandates, under pain of excommunication ; the whole ending in a justification or sanction of the arbitrary proceedings, by the ancient example of Hiram, King of Tyre, when he sent architects to King Solomon, to build his temple.

Induced by such a special protection of their pontiff, the Romans themselves soon, in great numbers, joined these masonic associations, particularly where destined specially to accompany into yet unexplored regions the missionaries deputed by their chief. And as the exarchate of Ravenna, first detached from the Greek empire by the Lombard kings, had already, by Pepin, been transferred to the popes, before the chief part of the kingdom of Lombardy was, by Charlemagne, annexed to his own empire ; as the relationships of trade, and other intercourse of the different cities of Lombardy with Constantinople, brought daily to them a greater number of Greeks ; and as, finally, the politi-

cal factions of Constantinople, and, above all, the fury of the Iconoclasts, continued to cause a constant influx of Greek artists into Italy; many Greeks were likewise taken into the gradually increasing circle of their lodges.

At a later period, indeed, when civilization diffused itself more distantly, even natives of the countries north of the Alps—of France, Germany, Belgium, and England—gradually gained admission into these bodies; perhaps only lest they should otherwise obtain the assistance of their own natural sovereign in a dangerous competition. In fact, during those middle ages, in which the laity were employed in little else than constant feuds and warfare, or servile or military services to those engaged in it—when the church was the only place of refuge for those who wished to exercise the arts of peace and industry—when even those arts of the latter description, that had not the recommendation of peculiar holiness, were most familiar to monks, and members of religious orders,—it need not excite surprise that an art, so peculiarly connected with every branch of religion and hierarchy as that of church architecture, should become, in every country, a favourite occupation with its ecclesiastics. These, therefore, were especially anxious themselves to direct the improvement and erection of their churches and monasteries, and to manage the expenses of their buildings, and became members of an establishment which had so high and sacred a destination, was so entirely exempt from all local civil jurisdiction, acknowledged the Pope alone as its direct chief, and only worked under his



immediate authority, and as his own immediate ministers ; and thence we read of so many ecclesiastics of the highest rank,—abbots, prelates, bishops—conferring additional weight and respectability on the order of free-masons, by becoming its members,—themselves giving the designs, and superintending the construction of their churches, and employing the manual labour of their own monks in the edification of them. Indeed, in countries on this side the Alps, when civilization increased, their own sovereigns seem to have taken a pride, and seen an advantage, in conferring upon their native lodges of freemasons, honours and privileges equal to those derived from the general religious head of Christendom—the Pope. The beauty of the construction of Strasburg Cathedral not only caused the lodge of free-masons of that city to be, in 1458, by all the other German lodges of Russia, Swabia, Bavaria, Franconia, Saxony, Thuringia, and others, by a solemn act passed at Ratisbon, recognised as their head ; but occasioned that act to be, in 1498, solemnly ratified and confirmed, by a diploma given at Strasburg by the Emperor Maximilian the First.

Often obliged, from regions the most distant, singly to seek the common place of rendezvous and departure of the troop, or singly to follow its earlier detachments to places of employment equally distant ; and that, at an era when travellers met on the road every obstruction and no convenience, when no inns existed at which to purchase hospitality, but lords dwelt every where, who only prohibited their tenants from waylaying the traveller, because they considered this, like killing

game, one of their own exclusive privileges ; the members of these communities contrived to render their journeys more easy and safe, by engaging with each other, and perhaps even, in many places, with individuals not directly participating in their profession, in compacts of mutual assistance, hospitality, and good services, most valuable to men so circumstanced. They endeavoured to compensate for the perils which attended their expeditions, by institutions for their needy or disabled brothers ; but lest such as belonged not to their communities should benefit surreptitiously by these arrangements for its advantage, they framed signs of mutual recognition, as carefully concealed from the knowledge of the uninitiated as the mysteries of their art themselves. Thus supplied with whatever could facilitate such distant journeys and labours as they contemplated, the members of these corporations were ready to obey any summons with the utmost alacrity, and they soon received the encouragement they anticipated. The militia of the church of Rome, which diffused itself all over Europe in the shape of missionaries, to instruct nations, and to establish their allegiance to the Pope, took care not only to make them feel the want of churches and monasteries, but likewise to learn the manner in which the want might be supplied. Indeed, they themselves generally undertook the supply ; and it may be asserted, that a new apostle of the Gospel no sooner arrived in the remotest corner of Europe, either to convert the inhabitants to Christianity, or to introduce among them a new religious order, than speedily followed a tribe of itinerant free-masons to

back him, and to provide the inhabitants with the necessary places of worship or reception.

Thus ushered in; by their interior arrangements, assured of assistance and of safety on the road; and by the bulls of the Pope, and the support of his ministers abroad, of every species of immunity and preference at the place of their destination; bodies of freemasons dispersed themselves in every direction, every day began to advance further, and to proceed from country to country, to the utmost verge of the faithful, in order to answer the increasing demand for them, or to seek more distant custom.

Wherever they came in the suite of missionaries, or were called by the natives, or arrived of their own accord to seek employment, they appear headed by a chief surveyor, who governed the whole troop, and named one man out of every ten, under the name of warden, to overlook the nine others; set themselves to building temporary huts for their habitation, around the spot where the work was to be carried on; regularly organised their different departments; fell to work; sent for fresh supplies of their brethren, as the object demanded them; often made the wealthy inhabitants of the neighbourhood, out of devotion, or commutation of penance, furnish the requisite materials and carriages, and the others assist in the manual labour; shortened or prolonged the completion of the edifice as they liked, or were averse to the place, or were more or less wanted in others; and when all was finished, again raised their encampment, and went elsewhere to undertake other jobs.

Even in England, as late as the reign of Henry VI., in an indenture of covenants made between the churchwardens of a parish in Suffolk, and a company of freemasons, the latter stipulate, that every man should be provided with a pair of white leather gloves and a white apron; and that a *lodge*, properly tiled, should be erected at the expense of the parish, in which to hold their meetings.

The architects of all the sacred edifices of the Latin church, wherever such arose—north, south, east, or west—thus derived their science from the same central school; obeyed, in their designs, the dictates of the same hierarchy; were directed in their constructions by the same principles of propriety and taste; kept up with each other, in the most distant parts to which they might be sent, the most constant correspondence; and rendered every minute improvement the property of the whole body, and a new conquest of the art.

They never found, to any experiment, the least opposition in the predilections or prejudices of employers, too devout to contend with the holy warrant they possessed; the result of this unanimity was, that at each successive period of the masonic dynasty, on whatever point a new church or monastery might be erected, it resembled all those raised at the same period in every other place, however distant from it, as much as if both had been built in the same place, by the same artist. In fact, in regions which had remained longer uncivilized, and destitute of important edifices of any description, and where Christianity was adopted, and the want of their construction felt more tardily, and could

less be supplied from the wrecks of former fabrics, though sometimes very remote from each other, the similarity of style, at certain subsequent periods, became even more striking than it was in the earlier foci of civilization and Christianity. For instance, we shall, at particular epochs, find churches as far distant from each other as the north of Scotland and the south of Italy, more minutely similar than those erected within the single precincts of Rome or Ravenna. Thus, at each different successive period subsequent to the general establishment of the Latin church throughout the west and north of Europe, we shall not only find in the region where it reigned over their entire surface, one single sort of architecture; but again, that after this Latin church had once, in these regions, been universally established, at whatever subsequent period there happened to be, in the sacred architecture, either at its fountain head, or on any other point, any improvement or change, the knowledge and the adoption of the same reached every other point so rapidly, as almost to appear every where the effect more of a general simultaneous inspiration, than of a progressive advancement and circulation. Hence it is most difficult to trace the first birth-place of any novelty by the difference in the successive eras of the various places more or less distant from it, where the change might successively appear. Hence the rapidity with which changes were adopted in every building—whether only beginning, or in its progress, or even when already in the last stages of its advancement—presented the most singular contrast with the slowness of the general pro-

gress of many buildings, and the number of years, nay centuries, they often took in completion. This circumstance, indeed, might contribute to cause the delay; since much that had been done, was perhaps undone again, in order to be re-modelled after the new fashion: but this fact appears tolerably certain, — that while every new style, introduced since the establishment of freemasonry, may be attributed to, and claimed by, that body collectively, yet, having spread all over Europe, as it were, only from one single common point, having kept its inventions throughout the whole extent of its operations in common, and being composed of men of all countries uniting their experience and their talent, — no new style arising at that period can, in any of its peculiarities, be claimed as the exclusive progeny of any of the more distant countries to which its ramifications extended, even though it might be incontrovertibly proved that that country possessed not only the first, but the only, specimen of that peculiar style.

As, of those masonic bodies, each member had a certain weight in the general meetings of the chapter, and, to a certain degree, followed his own private impulse; it arose on the other hand that, while each of the essential mechanical parts of each building observed that connection with the rest, that subservience to the general design so indispensable to the durability, to the very completion, of the edifice; the more arbitrary ornamental parts, which might each by its different artist be executed according to his own fancy, or desire of distinction, and without danger to the stability

of the fabric, preserved so little unity or similitude, that, in most buildings, bases, columns, architraves, *basso relievos*, cornices, and other members, often offer a diversity equal to that of the number of individuals employed upon them.

In many countries, and in each country, many bodies and individuals, wanted at once to erect religious edifices, and made them the object of a vanity so excessive as to vie all over Europe for the superiority, and to devote all the means which the absence of other pursuits left them, to the attainment of that single one object. Hence many artificers were at once engaged, and enabled to devote their faculties without interruption to the cultivation and perfection of that single study; and any talent which an individual might possess, any discovery which he might make, was contributed to the general stock. Hence each freeman, being enabled to benefit by the skill and experience of all the rest; each feeling stimulated to emulation by the attention of his fellows; and meeting, in the execution of his design, none of those checks from the ignorance or prejudices of their employers (great as they might have been), to which later artists have been exposed; it occurred that, precisely in those periods of the profoundest general ignorance, when other much easier arts only made slow advances, the most difficult and complicated art of sacred architecture, — that of calculating the various weights and pressures of arches most stupendous, and the supports and resistance these required; and the forms which the arches, and the pillars, and the buttresses, and pinnacles, supporting

and compressing them, and the stones composing these members, should have, for the purpose of perfect solidity and cohesion,—acquired a perfection so great, so contrasted with the general ignorance which existed in all other things, so superior even to that science in the same objects displayed at this moment, when in all other arts it has become infinitely greater, that it could not be credited, did not the proofs subsist in the works of those ages still extant.

But, because the freemasons, like all other craftsmen, confined to a peculiar exclusive corporation the knowledge of their original craft, and its successive improvements, for the purpose of securing to themselves its exclusive benefits; made them a profound mystery from the public at large; and only initiated into them those intended to be aggregated to their body, most slowly and gradually, and under oaths of the most profound secrecy; nay, carefully concealed, or even destroyed, whatever calculations and working plans might tend to elucidate and divulge their method; it also has happened that, though they have produced general witnesses to their skill, so admirable and so numerous in their works, they have left behind them very little that, after their dissolution, might assist to instil and to perpetuate among others the scientific principles upon which they proceeded. As soon as, in different countries, a general increase of learning, of industry, of skill, of jealousy in the native sovereigns of the intrusion of foreigners, to the disparagement of their authority, and the detriment of their subjects, and a general corresponding diminution of the papal



influence, and of the foundations arising out of it, and of the support given by it to freemasonry, caused the bodies of freemasons every where successively to dissolve, or to be expelled, until they at last ceased to exercise their original profession, and nothing remained of them but an empty name, and organization, and formulary, which other men laid hold of and appropriated to themselves to carry on and conceal other purposes; no trace or tradition of their peculiar principles or method continued to be preserved.

Some historians fancy they find symptoms of freemasonry as early as the seventh century, and that a peculiar masonic language may be traced as far back as the reigns of Charlemagne and of Alfred. It may be so; and in that case the destruction of the early churches and monasteries, which took place in the invasion of the Danes and Normans in England and France, would have produced a want of their reconstruction, after the expulsion of the former, and the conversion of the latter from bitter enemies, to zealous proselytes; and thus, during a certain period, would have tended to disseminate the masonic sect.

The idea, however, which soon began to prevail among the inhabitants, especially of Italy and of France, that, in the thousandth year after his birth, our Saviour was to re-appear, and the destruction of this globe to take place, must again have produced a considerable interruption in its business, by causing a total suspension of all new sacred structures, and even neglect of those already existing, until the period of the millennium had passed by; and men, again recovering from their

fright and shaking off their torpor, felt ashamed of their long neglect of holy edifices, and every where again began to repair and rebuild churches and monasteries in greater numbers, and on a grander scale than before; — insomuch that in every country we find a greater number of fine churches founded in the century subsequent to the millennium, than at any other period; — witness, among many others of which the precise date cannot be ascertained, at Parma, its magnificent dome, only finished in 1106; near Venice, in the island of Torcello, the magnificent church of Santa Maria, begun by Orso Orsiolo, bishop of Torcello, in 1008; at Florence, San Miniato, begun in 1013; at Pisa, the dome, begun in 1015; at Chartres, in 1020, the cathedral was rebuilt; St. Benigne of Dijon, begun in 1005; at Toulouse, the vast church of St. Saturnin; and at old Carcassone, the lofty Lombard cathedral, founded about the same time; at Cologne, almost all the fine churches in the Lombard style which that city so justly boasts; in Normandy, at Caen, the two princely abbeys of St. Stephen, and of the Holy Trinity, built by Duke William previous to the invasion of England; and even at Jerusalem, in 1049, the repairs of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, defaced by the Saracens: indeed, in less than a century after the millennium, the rage for the crusades, by causing throughout Europe, among the great and wealthy, not only a new religious fervor, and wish to prepare both soul and body for the long and perilous journey, or to make amends for staying at home, by religious gifts more liberal than before, but necessitating a general sale, at a low rate, of do-

mains and fiefs, that none but the clergy could purchase, for the equipment of the chiefs and the little armies which each hailed in his suite, gave to the church an augmentation of estates, revenue, and power ; and, consequently, produced in every country an increase of religious structures beyond all former precedent.

The same circumstance even caused, somewhat later, and more circuitously, an improvement in civil architecture.

The lords bound for the Holy Land, besides alienating their domains to the church, often sold enfranchisements and privileges to the cities under their jurisdiction ; and often, also, those cities took advantage of the absence of their lords, to usurp such without their consent. Generally they were supported in their usurpation by the sovereign, anxious to create a new body that should counterbalance that of the barons : and as, in these cities, industry and wealth increased with independence, their rich citizens and their municipal government began to want, and to erect, edifices for civil purposes, extensive and magnificent. From the cities of the Adriatic, and in Lombardy, where commerce, wealth, and a municipal administration first developed themselves, and where we see the first magnificent town-halls, we can trace that species of buildings somewhat later, to the cities in Germany, called Imperial, because wrested from the jurisdiction of the great vassals, and only holding from their common chief the Emperor ; later still, from thence to those of Belgium ; to Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp ; and last of all, to Holland, and to Amsterdam. Indeed, while

in other countries the barons, even when at home, continued only to reside in the castles on their estates, widely aloof from the vulgar contamination of the cities in the little commonwealths that by degrees grew out of the wrecks of the Lombard kingdom, the smallness of the state, and the greater security of the capital, began sooner than elsewhere to make the nobles themselves abandon the sullen seclusion of the country for the advantages of the city, and to erect the tall towers—the last distinguishing mark of their superiority—in the very midst of the lower dwellings of the citizens. Of these towers, Bologna still preserves a few, and Pavia a whole host.

It may be asserted, that in the place whence freemasonry drew, if not its first existence and form, at least its vital breath, its all-pervading energy, in the shape of those papal bulls addressed to the whole of Christianity, and received with obedience by every part of it which owned the supremacy of the Pope, it influenced the further developments of sacred architecture in the smallest degree. Rome had gone on declining more and more in internal means and population. The immense basilicas built on the first burst of Christianity out of the remains of heathen temples, had themselves ceased to be wanted for the diminishing congregations. Grass had grown on their pavements, and weeds had started from their walls. A few of the larger, rendered conventual, might have had monasteries and cloisters added to them; a few smaller new churches might even have been erected within the immense precincts of the ancient city, for local conve-

nience ; but the only universal addition in Rome to the former sacred structures, was—after steeples had begun to spring up in the seventh and eighth centuries—that of one of those appendages to each of the old churches ; and in Rome, whatever had been the original style of architecture, or that of the subsequent alterations in those churches, we may say that their steeples offer the same form, and bear the stamp of the same age.

Within the boundaries of the Greek empire, the freemasons, fraught with bulls of the popes of Rome, found no access whatever. In the Greek church, the forms first established seem to have been preserved with little variation to the present day ; and I may add, that the regions in and out of Europe, which became subject to Mohammedan powers, though they seem to have derived much of their architecture from Constantinople and from the Greeks, appear to have borrowed little from Rome, or from the freemasons. On the contrary, in Spain, over the greatest part of which Mohammedan sovereigns reigned during several centuries, the Christians themselves imitated their first style of architecture, in a great measure, from the Moors. The principal buildings of the middle ages are quite in the Mohammedan style of the country ; and it was only after the Catholics had acquired a manifest preponderance over the Moors, that we see what is called the Gothic style prevail in churches and other edifices.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## LOMBARD STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE.

FOR the reasons that we have assigned, we may venture to assert, that Lombardy, the country in which associations of freemasons were first formed, and which from its more recent civilization afforded few ancient temples whence materials might be supplied, was the first, after the decline of the Roman empire, to endow architecture with a complete and connected system of forms, which soon prevailed wherever the Latin church spread its influence, from the shores of the Baltic to those of the Mediterranean ; in part adopted from the more ancient Roman and Byzantine styles, in part differing from both — neither resembling the Roman basilica, nor the Greek cross and cupola. This style of architecture, in conformity to the general custom of calling things (until revolving ages obliterate the sense of the obligation) by the name of the last and nearest country whence they were imported, the French—the nearest neighbours to the Italians—have called Lombard ; an appellation, indeed, expressing the place in which this new system of Latin church architecture was first matured, and, therefore, so universally appropriate,

that I shall adopt it in preference, not only to that of Saxon, first given to it in England, but without the slightest foundation—since the rude Saxons, far from importing any peculiar architecture to the British shore, only adopted in it that of Christian Rome; but equally in preference to that of Norman, subsequently conferred upon it, which only describes the least and most circumscribed continental provinces, whence this architecture was more proximately wafted to the British shore.

I shall now attempt to describe the peculiar form, whether borrowed or imitated, collected into a single connected system, offered alike in the sacred edifices of each country which adopted this Lombard style.

*Chief Characteristics of the Lombard Style of Architecture.*

The base of the column (the member which in general deviates least in its form from the antique, though more rude and clumsy) is sometimes a mere block, rounded at the summit, squared at the sides. The shaft, only in a few instances—as in the small columns of Frederic Barbarossa's palace, at Gelnhausen in Germany—tapered; in general equal in diameter from the root to the summit; the height without any fixed proportion whatever to the diameter. Where (as happened in the North) materials less compact, require, for strength, greater circumference, the columns sometimes appear a short thick trunk, as at old Carcassone, Norwich, Gloucester, and Durham,

&c. ; but these have been found to be mere cases of squared stones, of which the interior is filled up with mere rubbish, or small stones bedded in mortar. Where materials are more compact, or columns merely stand as ornaments before a wall or pier, the shaft often grows to a tall slender reed, or seems to be a rope descending from the cornice ; as in the front of San Michele\* at Pavia, and of the dome at Piacenza.† Sometimes the shaft reaches, uninterrupted, from the base to the capital ; sometimes it is, by rings of intervening mouldings, confined to the circumference of each shaft, or carried on string courses from shaft to shaft, divided into different articulations ere it reaches the capitals ; as at Rome, round the absis of San Giovanni Laterano, the church of Gallerata on the road to Milan, that of St. Saturnin at Toulouse, the dome at old Carcassone, and that of Boppart‡ on the Rhine. Sometimes, from a division underneath, of greater circumference, rises a higher one of less diameter ; as round the absis of St. Saturnin, and in the nave of the church of old Carcassone. Sometimes, where columns support arches under a sloping cornice or pediment, they follow the slope of the latter, and are raised, each higher than the next, as they approach the centre ; witness the front of San Michele§ at Pavia, Sant' Ambrogio at Milan, and Castle Rising church in Yorkshire. Columns of a larger size, insulated, and supporting greater weight, as those of the nave, are generally single. Against walls and

\* Plate XXXII.

† Plate XXXVIII.

‡ Plate XXIX.

§ Plate XXXII.



piers, they have sometimes smaller shafts before or beside them. When they are small, and support slight arches—as in the galleries over the aisles inside, or under the roof, outside churches, or around cloisters—they are either single or doubled; and the latter, either along the face, or in the depth of the impost; or alternately the one and the other, as in the cloisters of San Lorenzo and Santa Sabina at Rome, where the alternate single columns carry brackets to give as deep a base as the architrave of those which are double, to the imposts of the arches, or as in the triforium of the church of Boppart;\* or sometimes quadrupled—as in many cloisters, and also in the church of Boppart. In the bevilled jambs of porches and windows, we often see a certain number of thin columns, of equal height and diameter, placed in perspective, each the support of its peculiar arch parallel with those of the others; but no where in this style do we yet see a single large pillar formed apparently of a bundle of small shafts or stalks, each prolonged above the capital in the rib of an arch diverging from the common centre. Often, for strength or ornament, are seen, in place of columns, only touching the wall or pier, semi-columns or pilasters embodied with it, which are generally so slender in proportion to their height, as only to look like gutters or stripes—as in the sides of Gallerata, and the absides of San Michele at Pavia, the dome at Verona,† the cathedral at Spire, and the nave of St. Saturnin at Toulouse. Clustered columns are very often seen against walls in the oldest Lombard

\* Plate XXXVIII.

† Plate XXXIX.

style ; as in the front of San Michele at Pavia, of the dome at Piacenza, &c. Sometimes, especially in porches and tombs, we see columns of small dimensions, instead of rising directly from the ground, which rest on the backs of monsters standing or lying on the floor ; as in the porches of the domes of Verona, Ferrara, Parma, Mantua, Modena, Piacenza, Bergamo, and many others ; in the pulpit of Sienna, and the canopies over the tombs of Sant' Eustorgio at Milan : both in the front and absis of the dome of Worms,\* a whole colonnade rests on bodies of monsters. At times, columns have no direct support whatever on the ground, but at a distance from it rise on brackets ; as in the front of the edifice called the Palace of Theodoric at Ravenna, around the steeple of the small church serving as chapel to the palace at Milan, in the cupola of the Certosa near Pavia, against the steeple of Santa Croce in Gierusalemme † at Rome, in the front of the dome of Lodi ; in the nave of St. Saturnin at Toulouse ; in the east end of the cathedral of Poitiers ; over the side porch of the cathedral of Worms ; and in Frederic Barbarossa's palace ‡ at Gelnhausen. The larger and more essential columns are generally round and plain ; the smaller and more ornamental, frequently polygonic, or fluted, or reeded, or formed of ribands or basket work, or smaller columns twisted together perpendicularly, spirally, or in zigzags, or other whimsical ways ; as we see in the cloisters of San Giovanni Laterano § and San Paolo

\* Plates XL. XLI.

† Plate XLII.

‡ Plate XLIII.

§ Plate XXV.

at Rome, those of St. Sauveur at Aix, and a number of others ; or adorned with foliage, as in the great west entrance of the cathedral of Autun : sometimes we see small columns, as if broken ; witness the gallery on the north side of the cathedral at Vienne in Dauphiné, and the south side porch of that of Worms. Sometimes even a pair or a quartetto of slender shafts form together a true lover's knot ; the former in the town hall of Como, the latter in the porch of San Quirico.

Of columns and pillars in Lombard edifices, the capitals were, at first, only rude imitations of the Doric, or Corinthian, or Composite : in the ancient Lombard church of St. Gravier, near Aix, pilasters, capitals, and cornices are rudely imitated from the Roman ; in the nave and north porch of Autun, they are much better sculptured ; the capitals inside Sant' Apollinare at Valence resemble the Corinthian very closely ; the pilasters in the church of Autun, of which the style is Lombard, are in the proportion of the Composite, and fluted, while the capitals are formed of monsters. Afterwards they were made to offer spear heads, or foliage, or scroll work, more variously disposed ; as we may see in churches and cloisters innumerable, in Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany, and England ; and particularly at Rome, in the cloisters of San Giovanni Laterano and San Paolo : at Verona, in those of San Zenone ;\* at Zurich, † in the porch of the cathedral ; at Aix, in those of St. Sauveur ; and at Gelnhausen, in those of Barbarossa's palace. ‡ In some places, we see capitals formed of inverted cones

\* Plate VI. † Plates XLIV. XLV. XLVI. ‡ Plate XLVII.

with the four sides flattened ; as at Zurich and Schaffhausen, in the cloisters ; at Spire, in the nave, and around the body of the cathedral ; at Worms, on the steeples ; at Cologne, in several churches ; at Canterbury, in St. Ethelbert's Tower. Many capitals are composed of imitations of animated beings of all sorts, real or monstrous ; of which fine specimens exist at Bologna, in the upper gallery of the cloisters of San Stefano ; at Modena, and at Parma, round the cathedrals ; at Toulouse, in St. Saturnin ; at Arles, in the porch of St. Trophime ; at Paris, in the church of St. Germain-des-Prés ; and at Canterbury, in the cathedral. As sometimes the columns are supported by nothing but a bracket underneath, so sometimes they support no part of the building, but only a finial above ; in the corners of the basilica at Parma, in the front of the dome of Piacenza,\* the east ends of the cathedrals of Valence and of Poitiers, and in the front of the church of Notre Dame la Grande at Poitiers. Generally, however, the capital immediately carries a rude and clumsy piece of architrave, on which rest the imposts of an arch, except where immediately under the cornice of the edifice it should support the corbels of the wall plate, as in St. Michele of Pavia, or the cornice itself, as in the absides of the dome of Verona. It is rare that columns in Lombard architecture support, as round the baptistery at Parma,† a continued architrave ; but still less frequently do these columns support, as in the front of Santa Maria della Piazza,‡ both archivolts of arches, and other columns

\* Plate XXIX.

† Plate VII.

‡ Plate X.

immediately resting on their capitals, without any intermediate architrave, or string course at all.

Where walls are not adorned with columns, they commonly, and sometimes, but more rarely, where they are, have their surface divided into recessed panels, and their corners strengthened by a species of margin, or buttress, slightly projecting, which at the top connects and grows into one of the range of corbel tables, forming wall plates, made in almost all buildings in the Lombard style, save the absides of the dome of Verona, to mark every new floor, into which is divided the height of the edifice: witness at Ancona, San Ciriaco; at Rimini, Sant' Agostino; at Verona, San Zenone; at Padua, the Old Baptistery,\* square underneath, and round above; at Brescia,† the old round cathedral; at Milan, Santa Maria delle Grazie;‡ at Como, Sant' Abondio; at Pavia, the church of the Augustine friars;§ at Worms, the dome;|| at Cologne, the church of St. Cunibert;¶ in England, Norwich Keep, Ely Turrets, and West Dereham Church, and almost every square church steeple along the Rhine, the Rhone, the Po, and the Tiber. Often, also, round reeds or pillars, without the bases, and capitals of columns, but chamfered behind each other, rise along the jambs, and continue to circulate around the arches of doors and windows, or themselves form arches against a solid wall, as in numberless edifices abroad, and in England.

In Lombard buildings the whole of the strength

\* Plate VIII.

† Plate IX.

‡ Plate XLIX.

§ Plate L.

|| Plate XVI.

¶ Plate XLVIII.

requisite for support and resistance is sought in the general thickness of the wall, or in the facings that slightly project from it, or in columns leaning against it; seldom we see even solid buttresses very prominent, and I believe the flying buttress to exist nowhere in this style. The Lombard, or what we call Saxon buttresses, are shallow, broad, shelving upward in regular breaks, and quite unornamented, except by some billet or other moulding that runs from the intervening panels uninterruptedly across them; from their shallowness they seem intended rather for mere ornament than for strength and support.

The arch is in general round-headed. Sometimes, however, we see in buildings, which, from their general style, we must call Lombard, intermixed with the round-headed arch, and evidently of the same era, but, as a mere variety from it, arches flattened: as in the exterior of the dome at Modena; the side altars of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, at Ravenna; the chapel of Barbarossa's palace at Gelnhausen; and Barfreston church in Kent: or arches with two straight sloping sides, meeting at an angle, as at Rome, on the south side of Santa Maria in Trastevere; at Ancona, in Santa Maria in Piazza;\* at Milan, in a small church near the gate that leads to Monza at Como, in the porch of San Fidale; at Zurich, in one of the corner pillars of the cloisters of the cathedral; at Valence, alternating with round arches, on the south side of the cathedral; at Poitiers, in the old church of St. Jean; at Auxerre, in the tower of the church of St. Eusebius: and in

\* Plate X.

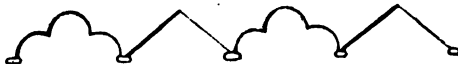
innumerable churches in brick in and around Toulouse; and in St. Ethelbert's tower at Canterbury; at Lorsch, on the Bergstrasse, in the convent built in 774. Horse-shoe arches may be seen in the front of the town hall of Piacenza;\* the tower of St. Julien at Tours; the nave of St. Germain des Près at Paris; the steeple of St. Eusebius at Auxerre; or the choir of Canterbury, rebuilt in 1174 by William of Sens. Arches forming a rounded trefoil, where, from two lateral curves, arises at angles with these—



a higher central curve, may be remarked in the towers of Sant' Apollinare at Valence; St. Pierre, at Vienne; the east end of Andernach † steeple; of the cathedral at Ingelheim, Sainte Croix ‡ at Liege; and the western towers of the Cathedral of Worms; in Barbarossa's palace § at Gelnhausen; and round the absis of St. Castor's church at Coblentz ||; and in various parts of the cathedral of Mayence: three sides of a square rise at right angles from that part which if of an arch would rest on the pier, as in the western part of Bop-

\* Plate XXIV. † Plate LI. ‡ Plate LII. § Plate XLIII.

|| Plate LIII. — In Pope Gregory's Gospels, copied by a monk of Salisbury in the tenth century, kept in the library of Salisbury cathedral, are seen the pointless trefoil arches, alternating with those in the form of a pediment, thus:—



part cathedral; \* or arches, where, on the contrary, from a square rises a semicircle, as in the ancient steeple of Ingelheim : † or, finally, arches exist of two curves meeting at an angle and forming a point, such as we consider to be the distinctive character of the style called pointed, but which we see, though not in equal number, yet intermixed with the round arch, in the Palazzo Publico at Piacenza, ‡ at Milan, § at Como, ¶ and at Padua.

In the porch of San Ciriaco, ¶¶ at Ancona, from an inner arch, pointed, there is a gradual softening down through many more outward enveloping arches, to one external wholly circular : also, at Verona, in the front of San Fermo, and the cloisters of San Zenone ; in the cupola of the Certosa, at Pavia ; in the front of Notre Dame, at Poitiers ; the two eastern towers of the dome of Worms ; and the absis of the cathedral at Boppart, on the Rhine. Sometimes, of an arch the imposts are prolonged downwards, considerably under the curve, as in the Byzantine style, before they meet the proportionably shorter column on which they rest ; at others, they descend quite to the floor, a base without any intervening column, and with them the strings, or mouldings in which they are framed ; no longer bearing in its width a proportion to the height of its imposts, or columns, the arch sometimes, from its low width, has an appearance of dwarfish debility, as in the lower cloisters of San Stefano, at Bologna ; but often, from its narrow height, seems to be a mere

\* Plate XXXVIII.

† Plate LV.

‡ Plate XXIV.

§ Plate LV.

¶ Plate LVII.

¶¶ Plate XII.



loop-hole, like those forming the windows in the front of San Zenone, at Verona ; or in that of San Michele, at Padua ; and some in almost every Lombard building. At times, under a slanting roof, a gable-end, instead of the columns rising towards the centre, and following the slope of the roof, the arches over them rise in height ; as in the dome, at Modena ; the church of Santa Maria, and Donato,\* at Murano ; the cathedrals of Andernach,† and Bonn ; the church of the Apostles at Cologne, &c. Often a range of two, or three, or more arches, are included in a single larger one : as in the town halls of Fano, Piacenza, ‡ Como, § Milan, and others ; in the front and sides of the dome of Modena ; in St. Ethelbert's tower, at Canterbury, &c. Arches sometimes are plain, sometimes framed in an immense number of mouldings ; on a plain wall, mouldings, and bands, and beads are frequently made in later edifices to form a network of sham arches, in *basso rilievo*, either supported on columns, or descending uninterrupted to the ground, so as to form pointed terminations, as at Gallerata, in the Milanese ; along the sides of our Lady's Chapel, in Hertford cathedral, and in numberless churches in the Lombard style, in France, and particularly in Normandy. In wall-plates, or rather corbel tables, we see it in instances innumerable ; at Parma, Piacenza, Verona, Rimini, Winchester, and other places. Indeed, while in the Latin basilica, and even in the Greek church, we see arches only where they perform some essential office, and afford some necessary support, in the Lombard

\* Plate LVIII. † Plate LI. ‡ Plate XXIV. § Plate LVII.

style we may consider arches, real or fictitious, offering prodigious diversities of size, from those which compass the whole height of a building to those which appear most diminutive, and these often accumulated in great numbers over, or prolonged in vast series beside each other, for purposes merely ornamental, as one of the particular characteristics: the dome of Pisa, finished in 1180; the hanging tower of the same city; the churches of San Martino, and San Michele, at Lucca; the church of Santa Maria della Piazza,\* at Ancona; the dome at Parma; the domes at Modena; the Certosa, and the church of the Augustines, at Pavia; the church of Sant' Andrea at Vercelli; the cathedrals of Angoulême, and Poitiers: Notre Dame la Grande, at Poitiers; the cathedrals of Andernach and Bonn; and the churches of the Apostles,† and of Saint Gereon,‡ at Cologne; seem a congeries of nothing but arches.

In general, every external string course, marking a new floor, or story inside, whether horizontal or sloping, in Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany, England, and wherever else we see the Lombard style, as under it a wall-plate, formed of small arches, generally round-headed, sometimes pointed, or of scollops, of which the imposts either remain suspended over the wall, or terminate in brackets formed of mouldings, monstrous heads, or sham capitals; or at certain intervals along the surface, and at the angles of the wall, descend in flat pilasters or strips of the Lombard style: repeated at every floor or articulation, this scolloped fringe gives them a very peculiar appearance. In general, in the

\* Plate X. † Plates XXI. XXII. ‡ Plates XVIII. XIX.

Lombard style, they offer little ornament, except in their brackets; but in the dome of Modena they have rich borders; in San Zenone, of the same place, they are covered with the most gorgeous enrichments; and at the dome of Parma, their spandrils and their arches are filled with animals and other objects of sculpture. These arches, at first with solid spandrils, were afterwards formed of mere mouldings, and made to intersect each other, so as to form pointed arches in their intervals: and this is the form in which they are seen in all the later edifices in the Lombard style, in the country to which it owes its birth, at Milan, Pavia, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna, &c. &c. The principal entrance which, with its accessories, generally forms a very considerable and conspicuous feature of the front of Lombard churches; and the great south entrances offer an aperture crowned by a horizontal lintel-shaped space, often adorned by rich modillions, *basso relievos*, and other sculpture, enclosed, together with the space immediately over it, in an arch, as well as its imposts, widening outwards, and clothed in numerous pillars, cords, and mouldings; over which often projects a porch, resting on pillars, and terminating in a gable-end; and the sculpture and enrichments of this part are often, in Italy, and even in France, rich beyond description. Witness San Ciriaco, and Santa Maria della Piazza, Ancona; the dome, Ferrara; the south entrance of the dome, Modena; the domes, Mantua and Verona; the baptistery, Parma; the front and south entrances of San Michele, Pavia: Sant' Antonio, Brescia; Sant' Am-

brogio, Milan; the west and south entrances (still Lombard) of the otherwise gorgeous, pointed cathedral of Como; the cathedral of St. Trophime of Arles; the south entrance of the cathedral of Tarascon, and of St. Saturnin, of Toulouse; the porch of Sainte Croix, at Bordeaux; of the Abbaye Royale, of Saintes; and even on the Rhine, the south porch of the dome of Andernach, and the principal entrance of St. Cunibert,\* Cologne; which, inferior as they are to the former, still far excel the richness of those in England, in general only adorned with mere interlacings, fret-work, billets, and other unmeaning ornaments. St. Trophime at Arles is the only church in this style which I remember whose door is divided, for the convenience of the going in and the coming out, by a central pillar.

In the Lombard cathedrals in Italy, the front often offers a large central, and two smaller side doors, as at Parma, Piacenza, Ferrara, and Como.

In general, the windows of the Lombard style are very narrow in proportion to their height, though the latter is not considerable: sometimes, as in San Zenone at Verona, and San Michele at Pavia, they look like mere slits, or loop-holes. They are either single, or twins, with a column between: each side having a round-headed arch. In St. Germain des Prés at Paris, a wide square aperture is divided in the centre by a pillar. Sometimes we see three, or even more, windows, only divided by small pillars, as in the dome of Modena, and in most of the town halls in Lombardy;

\* Plate XLVIII.

and farther north, the centre one rises above the rest ; as at Andernach, Cologne, &c. : the arch and impost of the windows are either plain, or enriched with cords, bands, and other mouldings, or framed in archivolt and pillars. Those of Sant' Abondio, near Como, have round them very rich and broad, flat, sculptured borders. The windows are either introduced in the plain wall, or singly, or in certain numbers enclosed in more capacious arches.

In later churches of the Lombard style, or in earlier ones, by a subsequent insertion, we often see in the west front, over the entrance, and under the gable (perhaps in order to represent the setting sun) what was called a wheel of fortune, or Catherine wheel, composed of spokes radiating from a centre, connected at their extremities by arches, and enclosed in a rich circle, so as to form a splendid Rosette ; while round it are frequently placed figures represented on one side as soaring up to heaven, and on the other, as hurled down to hell. Of these Rosettes in the Lombard style, we see magnificent examples in the dome of Modena, and of Piacenza ;\* the church of San Zenone at Verona : † and pleasing ones at Torno on the Lake of Como ; at Beauvais in the old church of Saint Stephen, built in the beginning of the eleventh century ; and at Boppard on the Rhine ; we may even quote, not for its intrinsic beauty, but its effect, Barfreston in Kent.

Sometimes the angles of the Lombard churches are surmounted by heavy cones, or pyramids, as on the

\* Plate XXIX.

† Plate VI.

back of the cathedral of Poitiers : but they show not the numerous small pinnacles necessary in the pointed style to counteract by their weight the pressure of the ribs and flying buttresses.

The Lombard churches, in general, present neither the simple oblong square of the basilica, nor the cross with four short and equal ends of the Greek church : but, as an improvement upon either—a compound of both—a long nave preceding the shorter transept, and east end, so as to cause them to offer, in their ground plan, the real form of the cross ; and it should be remarked, that the centre of the transepts generally presents a pier instead of an opening with a door or window on either side : this we even see in England, in the transepts of Winchester, the south transept of Ely, and the south transept of the choir of Canterbury. Some, like Sant' Apollinare at Valence, and Notre Dame la Grande at Poitiers, have aisles very narrow. Some, like St. Saturnin at Toulouse, and Sant' Abondio at Como, have them double ; and in Sant' Abondio the outer aisle is formed of thinner and lower columns. Some, like Ste. Radegonde at Poitiers, and St. Pierre at Angoulême, have none. Over the aisles, and under the roof, there is, sometimes, a gallery for the women ; as at Sant' Ambrogio, Milan ; San Michele, Pavia ; and in the cathedrals of Andernach, Bonn, and Spire.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

PROGRESS OF THE ART OF CONSTRUCTING ARCHES  
AND VAULTS.

WE have seen, that as early as the time of paganism, Roman edifices, such as that stupendous hall called the Temple of Peace, and that other, not less magnificent, in the baths of Diocletian, now a church, had groined vaults. In the first, great new Christian buildings—the basilicas of Rome—a sufficiency of ancient columns to admit their being placed so near each other as to carry on small arches, a continued wall, and the greater facility of laying across that wall a light timber roof, caused the temporary suspension of the vault ; but first in the Greek, and next in the Lombard, buildings, the vault was resumed : at first, indeed, in its simplest trunk shape, and resting on a continued lateral string, until, in order to obtain in the naves and aisles of churches, greater spans and spaces, not only across, but also in length, and at right angles with the former, and opening on the sides, by means of arches : in that sense, as well as in the other, the groined vault, which this plan rendered necessary, was resumed ; first, indeed, only over the lesser aisles, while the nave was left covered by the timber roof, or by the trunk-headed vault, but by degrees over the nave also ; and while at

first, around arches of cut stone, carried from pillar to pillar, both in a parallel and transverse direction, so as to form squares, we only see a groined shell of mere rubble work, we observe gradually within these squares other additional ribs of cut stone, carried from each angle to the opposite angle, so as to form within the squares of the first four arches, St. Andrew's crosses, with two other intersecting arches, supporting between their four spandrils and four groins of the vault,—and with the arches at right angles, still round headed, and the ribs rectangular and crossing, still flat, — may be said to end the gradual developments of the vault in buildings of the Lombard style.

In some very ancient churches, half built in the basilica, half only in the Lombard style; as in San Zenone at Verona, and the dome at Torcello, and Sant' Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna; the ceiling still remains a mere timber frame, as it is in England, at Peterborough, and St. Alban's. In later churches the side walls of the nave carry a semicircular, or trunk-headed vault with parallel bands or ribs falling upon the pillars that rest against the piers or walls, as in France, at Toulouse, in St. Saturnin, and at old Carcassone in St. Nazaire, built in 1096. In others, again, the vault is groined and strengthened by ribs, crossing each other from angle to angle, first made flat, afterwards round, the curvilinear triangles between which were filled up, first with wood, and afterwards with stone, as in Sant' Ambrogio at Milan.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

FORMS OF THE ABSIS, ENTRANCE, CUPOLA, SPIRE,  
AND STEEPLE USUALLY SEEN IN LOMBARD ARCHI-  
TECTURE.

GENERALLY the centre of the east end, or sanctuary, ended in a semicircular absis, as in San Giovanni e Paolo, Rome; at Monreale, near Palermo; the domes of Parma, Piacenza, Modena, Verona, Vercelli, and Torcello; the churches of San Michele, Pavia; San Carpofero, Como; Santa Maria Maggiore, Bergamo; and Santa Maria and Donato, Murano; the cathedrals of Spire, Bacharach, Bonn, and Mayence; Saint Castor\* at Coblentz; the church of the Apostles, Saint Gereon, and Sta. Maria of the Capitol at Cologne; and Sainte Croix at Liege; Sant' Apollinare at Valence; and St. Gaudens in the Pyrenees. It sometimes ended in an angular absis, as in San Paolo, Como; and in the cathedrals of Worms, Gelnhausen, † Boppart, and Zinzig.

At times, likewise, the aisles end in absides. The dome of Torcello has five, at the rear of that which is central. Sometimes, also, the transepts end in circular absides; such as those of the Apostles, and of Santa

\* Plate LIII.

† Plate LIX.

Maria of the Capitol at Cologne: and in a few churches—as in the dome at Verona,\* and Sant' Eustorgio at Milan—the side walls break out into square recesses and semicircular absides.

In some of the cathedrals in Germany—such as Mayence, Worms, Oppenheim, and others, which, besides an altar and a choir for the parish, required another for the chapter—there is no entrance at the west end, but only at the side; and while one choir, and altar, and absis is at the east, the other choir, and altar, and absis is at the west end.

In Lombardy, the crossing of the nave and transepts generally rises into an octagonal cupola; as at Parma,† and Piacenza,‡ and Modena, in the domes; at Milan, in Sant' Ambrogio, and in Santa Maria delle Grazie, where it was modernised in the cinque cento style, by Bramante; at Pavia, in San Michele, one of the chapels of Sant' Eustacio, and in the Augustines; and at Bologna, in San Stefano. This we see likewise in France in the cathedral of Angoulême, where, in fact, each division of the nave carries a lesser cupola; and in Germany, in the cathedrals of Worms, Spire, Mayence, and Gelnhausen; that of Mayence, now ending in a confused pyramidal mass, and that of Gelnhausen in an elegant spire;—as well as at Cologne, in the Church of the Apostles, and St. Gereon.

In England, the church built in the seventh century, by St. Wilfrid, at Hexham, is described by Richard, its prior, as being furnished with a round tower, or cupola, from which proceeded four aisles; and West

\* Plate XXXIII.

† Plate XIV.

‡ Plate LX.

Dereham church, in Norfolk, still offers an octagonal tower or cupola. San Francesco at Brescia, indeed, has a cupola of sixteen sides, adorned more in the pointed style ; and Santa Maria delle Grazie, a noble example of the cinque cento style.

As the species of architecture here described arose in a country where snow lies little on the roofs, these were generally low and flat, and under them frequently runs a gallery of small arches and pillars, which, along the sides, forms a frieze ; round the absides and cupola, a belt ; and up the gable end of the front, a slanting line of steps, exceedingly elegant, singular, and, by the smallness of its parts, increasing the apparent magnitude of the whole ; witness San Giovanni and Paolo at Rome ; the domes at Parma, Piacenza, Modena, Vercelli, and Arezzo ; the Certosa near, and San Michele at, Pavia ; San Fidale at the town, and Gravedone on the lake, of Como.

The small galleries, however, running up the pediment, are a very remarkable feature, entirely confined to Lombardy. Instances of these galleries under the roof and round the absides, &c. may be seen on this side of the Alps. In the cathedrals of Vienne in Dauphiné, of Spire, Worms, Mayence, and Aix-la-Chapelle ; in the Apostles, and St. Gereon, at Cologne ; St. Castor, at Coblantz ; and Sainte Croix, at Liege.

As soon as you reach Germany, the roofs become, as they should in a country more northern, higher and steeper ; and thence the small gable ends, forming pediments, of which I only remember one example in

Lombardy—at Verona, in the absis of San Fermo—become more frequent : we see them in the absis of the church of Zinzig, and round the cupola of the dome of Aix-la-Chapelle, and terminating every square, or polygonic tower ; and those galleries running round the semicircular absides, and the centre cupolas, though seen in the old churches along the Rhine, are not to be found in those of France and England : these latter are thus deprived of one of the greatest beauties of that style. These galleries are built in the thickness of the walls, and access to them is afforded by staircases within the same wall ; they were intended to see processions, &c.

When, from points very distant, the faithful were to be called at some appointed hour to some assigned place of common prayer and worship, not only the clear and powerful sound of bells was deemed best calculated to convey the distant summons, but, in order that their radiating vibrations might be less impeded in their diffusion, slender but lofty edifices, called steeples, were built, for the sole purpose of lifting high in air the receptacles of these bells. It is difficult to ascertain where, and when, bell-towers first arose—probably at Constantinople. Anastatius Bibliothecarius mentions Pope Stephen III. as having first added one, containing three bells, to St. Peter's. That of St. Mark at Venice was begun in 902 ; though, in 1131, only finished to the bell-house ; that of San Zenone at Verona, begun in 1045, was finished in 1178 ; and the great tower in the Piazza at Verona was commenced in 1172.

Neither belfries nor baptisteries were considered as essential parts of, or embodied with, the church. On the contrary, like the baptistery, the steeple was placed at some distance from the house of worship. Thus we see it at Parma, at Piacenza, at Mantua, at Florence, at Pisa, at Torcello, at Santa Maria, and Donato, in the island of Murano ; at San Zenone in Verona ; and at Sant' Andrea, at Vercelli ; at Ravenna, in its various churches ; and throughout every place in Italy—where the Lombard style is preserved—and where the baptistery stands near the cathedral : as at Pisa, at Florence, at Cremona, and elsewhere, the steeple makes the third distinct edifice of the sacred group.

There are cities in Italy, where, whatever may be, in its churches, the difference of era and of architecture, the towers not only appear to be Lombard, and of the same era, but possess, in that style, peculiarities differing from those of all the other towns.

At Ravenna, the steeples may perhaps have been imitated from those at Constantinople, for they are all round, as the minarets of that city are to this day, or rather, all cylindrical, and like a tube of equal diameter from top to bottom : and all articulated, or showing external string courses, marking every higher internal floor ; some of these stories offering single round arched windows ; others, clusters of two or three. Low roofs cover their tops : such are the cathedral, San Giovanni della Sagra, Sant' Apollinare in Classe, &c.

At Venice, again, all the steeples are square, and without distinct external string courses ; but divided on each side into two or three panels, running unin-

terruptedly from their base to their top, crowned by a smaller square or octagonal belfrey, with a low spire : witness St. Mark's, Santa Maria Gloriosa, San Giacomo del Orto, San Simeon Grande, &c.

At Rome also, the towers are all square, but with the stories marked by different cornices or string courses—the divisions between each offering a certain number of small arches, with or without columns, clustered together, with perhaps a projecting canopy or tribune for a Madonna near the top ; modillions of porphyry, serpentine, or other marble, inserted in the brick surface, and a low roof covering all : witness Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, San Giovanni e Paolo, Sant' Eusebio, Santa Francesca, and Santa Croce in Gierusalemme.

The more ancient steeples in Lombardy and the south of France ;—at Milan, those of Sant' Ambrogio ; at Valence, of Sant' Apollinare ; at Vienne, in Dauphiné, of St. André-le-Bas, and St. Pierre ; at Bordeaux, of Sante Croix ; at Angoulême, of the cathedral ; at Poitiers, of Sainte Radegonde, and Sainte Marie-la-Grande ;—still very much resemble those of Rome and Lombardy : and we may say that the old steeples north of Lyons—at Tournus, at Vermanton, at Auxerre, at Tours, &c.—and even north of Paris, in many small places ; and those in Savoy, and in the Valais ; as at Sion, St. Maurice, Martigny, &c. ; and those in Switzerland, as at Schaffhausen ; and most of those of the Lombard churches on the Rhine ; still resemble, in their general form and distribution, those of Rome : with this exception only,—that, being built in

latitudes where snow falls deeper and lies longer, they have high roofs or caps, approaching to the form of the spire ; and that many in Switzerland and Germany present over each side or face a sharp gable end or pediment. Many of the oldest steeples in England, in Kent, Suffolk, and Norfolk, even at Ely, and at Winchester, though more rudely constructed, still, in their square form, their arched fasciæ, and their truncated summit, resemble those on the Continent.

The low conic spires which crown those of the more ancient steeples in the Lombard style in France ; as at Notre Dame-la-Grande, and Ste. Radegonde, and the back of the cathedral at Poitiers ; and the Tour d'Ev-rard, at Fontevraud ; and in Germany ; as at Worms ; are covered with stone tiles, whose corners are rounded. When the more pointed style from Germany travelled into Lombardy, the great country of brick, small round cylinders were employed to erect the spires ; and such we see at Milan, Pavia, Parma, Piacenza, Venice, Verona, Faenza, Cesena, Forli, Otricoli, Bologna, even at the gates of Rome, in Santa Maria del Popolo.

Among the steeples in the Lombard style in Italy, distinguishing themselves from the vulgar crowd by their form, I shall only mention, at Pisa, that which an unlucky defect in its foundation caused, without falling, to incline ; and that singular and intricate piece of workmanship—the old church at Milan, which now is used as a chapel to the palace.

The severity of the climate beyond the Alps probably was the original motive for immediately connecting the steeple with the church on one side, as in the cathedral

at Angoulême. The love of symmetry caused them, afterwards, to be built in front of these; as in Sant' Apollinare at Valence, St. Pierre at Vienne, and at the Apostles, Cologne: and Ste. Radegonde, Poitiers; and, lastly, to arise out of the very centre of their body: for, by degrees, the middle of the choir, and the square, or the octagon over it, instead of being surmounted by a cupola, as in Lombardy, began further north, to bear a tall steeple; such as we already see at Vercelli, near Turin, at Mayence, at Bonn,\* and at Gelnhausen: such became the fascination of steeples, that, besides that which was central, a pair of others were made to flank the west end; as at Vercelli, in the Piedmont; at Tours, in France; in Ste. Croix, at Liege; in the church of the Apostles† at Cologne; and in numerous other places: nay, that where, in Germany, cathedrals had an altar, and a choir at each end, as at Mayence and Worms;‡ and even without this excuse, as in the cathedral of Andernach,§ and the church of St. Castor, at Coblenz,|| built by Lewis the Pious; a pair were placed at each extremity.¶

\* Plate LXI.

† Plate XXI.

‡ Plate XVI.

§ Plates LI. LXII.

|| Plate LIII.

¶ It should be remembered that I do not here point out the many examples of the same sort of construction seen afterwards in edifices of the pointed style; but as existing before the introduction of that manner, and distinguishing, from former styles, the round Lombard architecture.



## CHAPTER XXV.

## LOMBARD MONASTIC ARCHITECTURE.

IN the first centuries subsequent to the establishment of Christianity, churches were in a manner the only buildings of consequence erected: but when, in the Christian communities, certain individuals, male and female, detached themselves from the general mass, renounced both its common pleasures and duties—even those of an union with the other sex—to live with other individuals of the same sex, in greater seclusion, and in the practice of religious rites, more austere, and more constant, they began to want receptacles for habitation, at once more simple and confined, in the parts allotted to each in particular; and more extensive, in those like the refectory, and the church intended for general meeting, than were found in private dwellings.

Yet were monasteries, at first, only built, as to their general shape, after the plan that prevailed in the parts that existed in the milder regions in which they first arose, in every ordinary habitation—which preceded every early church—namely, with a square internal court, surrounded by a quadriporticus, or cloister, open to the air, which served at once for exercise, for coolness, and for communication between the different apartments, all made for the sake of privacy, before

glass was invented, to look from the road or street to that court within ; and if this arrangement differs from that of the private houses of the present day, the reason of the variation is, that while monasteries have, during every age, in every latitude, remained the same, the form of private dwellings has experienced considerable changes. Many churches, existing long before monasteries were known, were afterwards, like San Paolo, San Lorenzo, and San Giovanni Laterano, made conventual—convents being attached to them ; while to the other monasteries, when wanted, were added churches, dedicated to the Saint, whose order its members had adopted.

The earlier cloisters of the Latin church are all in the Lombard style : some—such as at Rome, those of San Lorenzo, and Santa Sabina ; and at Bologna, of San Stefano—small, and rude, and more like the courts of a mean habitation : others—as at Rome, those of San Giovanni Laterano :\* and at Verona, those of San Zenone—spacious, and formed of columns of the most fantastical shapes, glittering, those at Rome with white marble, inlaid with porphyry, with serpentine, and with gilt enamel ; and those of Verona, with the gold coloured marble of the Euganian mountains : nor should I forget, among the more elegant cloisters in the Lombard style, those of the monastery of Subiaco, in the Papal territory ; of the Certosa, at Pavia ; of St. Sauveur, at Aix ; and of the cathedral at Zurich ; † in which school-boys now play, where friars used to pass their time in meditation and prayer.

\* Plate XXV.

† Plates V. XLV.

The cloisters of the monastery of Subiaco, in the Papal states, have small columns, and groups, or divisions of round-headed arches, separated at certain intervals by strong piers, like those of San Giovanni Laterano, and San Paolo, at Rome; and are among the most elegant in the Lombard style: they were erected, according to an inscription in them, in 1235: those of San Giovanni and Paolo, at Rome, were also completed between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century; those of San Zenone, according to the inscriptions on them, in 1123.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

PRIVATE DEFENSIVE ARCHITECTURE OF THE NINTH  
AND TENTH CENTURIES.

IT seems unfortunate—but it is not the less true—that the first rise and development of Christianity, and the first general decline of arts, sciences, and civilization, went almost hand in hand. About the close of the ninth century, besides devout exercises, there seemed to be no other business in the world but warfare. Every vassal was in open rebellion against his sovereign; every lord in constant hostility with all his neighbours. The country was infested by outlaws and plunderers; the towns distracted by contending factions. Nothing but its acknowledged holiness could protect any place, not fortified, against every species of violence and rapine. Every edifice, which was not a church, had no choice but to become a castle: not only insulated dwellings in the country, not only cities collectively, were fortified against attacks from without; but, in the very heart of those cities, men of property dared not go about the streets without being attended by an armed force; and fitted their habitations for standing a siege from their fellow-citizens. As in the country, a castle, so in every Italian city, a tower, became a badge of

nobility. Even churches were sometimes fortified like citadels: that which, at Loretto, has been built over the Holy House, seems to form part of the city bulwarks over which it soars.

In Rome, indeed, and in a few other places, where immense relics of antiquity remained, such as were not converted into churches, were used as fortifications. The tomb of Cecilia Metella became a tower; the Coliseum, a castle; the mausoleum of Adrian, a citadel; even the Arch of Janus wondered at the crenelated crest reared on its summit. In cities, where buildings did not exist which could be employed for purposes of defence, those who required them were compelled to raise them from the ground. These, in the country, became regular castles; in crowded cities, where extension was impossible, they grew into lofty towers: of the latter, the ancient capital of the Lombard kings; the comparatively small city of Pavia alone possessed, at one time, a hundred and sixty, many of which still remain, and look like giants stalking over the lower houses of the citizens; while, at Bologna, only the two huge towers of the Gavisendi, built in 1110, and of the Asinelli, constructed in 1119; and, in Rome, the vast tower of the Conti, built by Innocent III., of that family, continue to rear their lofty heads.

I need scarcely say, that if, in the architecture of churches and monasteries, ornament was sought, in these habitations, exposed to constant sieges, it was avoided, not only as in itself too delicate for the rough usage it might experience, but as calculated to render them too accessible. Except some loop-hole through

which to pass a cross-bow, or other offensive weapon, to a considerable height from the ground, all external projections to which a man might attach himself, all apertures through which he might effect a passage (save the low, small, intricate, well-guarded entrance), were carefully avoided: every where was a smooth, even surface, only broken by the towers necessary, not only to watch with more effect the movements in the country around, but under the walls of the castle itself. The top of the edifice alone was fringed all round by immense brackets, supporting a projecting ledge, with perforations in its floor, through which stones might be dropped upon and made to harass the assailants at the foot of the wall, and encircled by battlements, behind which the defendants might, with safety to themselves, take aim at and send forth their arrows against the besiegers.

In this style of architecture no difference seems to prevail between different countries, unless in the form of these brackets and battlements.

In the old Italian castles, the former are plain blocks, having at the top a square interstice between them, or united by a sort of small intervening arch; the latter offering, from each corner of a battlement, a curve downward, to guide the bow into the intervening groove: and of this species of building we see striking specimens, at Rome, in the superior part of the castle of Sant' Angelo, and in that now called the Venetian Palace; at Spoleto, in the castle said to have been built by Theodoric, and repaired by Narses; at To-

lentino\*, in the strange gate towards Macerata; at Ferrara, in the ducal palace; and in the Apennines, in numberless fortresses.

In France, the brackets of the Machicoulis became articulated into as many curves as they consisted of different layers of stone; and in the later castles, the interstices were often filled up by elegant pointed arches. Some of these, such as those at Tarascon and Beaucaire, and the Legate's palace at Avignon, are models of feudal elegance and grandeur. Those in Germany and England have neither the apparent sturdiness of the Italian, nor finish of the French fortresses.

\* Plate LXIII.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

## LOMBARD CIVIC ARCHITECTURE.

WHEN, in Lombardy, the advancement of civilization, of trade, and of liberty, had given to each city a municipal government, these produced a Palazzo Publico, where the chief magistrate frequently resided, and the others met: this was generally situated in the public place, square without, and containing a *cortile* within. The ground floor consisted in an open portico, or *loggie*, where those who had business might wait, walk about, and find shelter, and venders of small wares took their stations. Above this were the rooms, generally offering, in contrast with the small apertures of castles, wide windows of complicated architecture, separated by piers of proportionable width. In this style are the Doge's palace at Venice, built in the ninth century; the Palazzo Publico at Pavia, said to have been erected by the Lombard kings, but reconstructed since, — a model of elegance in the pointed style; those of Padua, Piacenza,\* Fano, and Ferrara, &c.

\* Plate XXIV.



## CHAPTER XXVIII.

ALLEGORICAL AND OTHER ORNAMENTAL ADDITIONS  
TO LOMBARD ARCHITECTURE.

I HAVE already observed, that as the architects of the Greek churches chiefly depended for their ornament upon representations in colour laid on flat surfaces, on rich marbles and mosaics—those of the Latin churches chiefly relied for colourless imagery in relief, on sculpture, whether from a desire more strongly to mark the different discipline of the two churches, or more especially from a want of those rich materials, those porphyries and serpentines, of which Constantinople had preserved the store, and of those gorgeous enamels of which she alone carried on the manufacture. The Lombard churches might still terminate at the east end in a semicircular absis, but of that alcove, the concave surface, and the conch, were not overspread with a coat of mosaic. Pierced all round with windows, they rather sought their splendour in the light of heaven.

As, however, the Latin church continued to retain the same objects of worship or religious allegory under the influence of the Lombard architecture, as before, the subjects of sculpture that adorned its holy places

remained nearly the same. The image of our Saviour, or of the Holy Virgin, or of the patron saint, conspicuously placed in a rich canopy or niche over the principal entrance ; those of other saints, and all the corporeal entities worshipped by the Christian—of the Paschal lamb, and of the four beings emblematic of the Evangelists—holding central and lofty situations ; those of angels, placed as if joining in the worship, or upholding the building ; those of forms of terror, to avert from the principal approaches the spirits of darkness ; subjects from Scripture, and even from profane chronicles, connected with the peculiar foundation, were represented in various parts of the front. In more subordinate situations, such as capitals, cornices, wall plates, arch spandrils, &c., entities real and imaginary, only to amuse the eye and mind, varied at the choice of the artist ; arabesques of figures and foliage mixed, or of foliage alone, or interwoven with graceful but unmeaning scrolls—all these we see, in the principal Lombard churches, in a profusion which left the basilicas poor, and the Greek churches insipid. The projecting figures, or the heads, were, according to their importance as to the locality, marshalled in entire undivided rows, or in procession, or each confined in a separate niche, or panel, or modilion. Often in the horizontal lintels of the doorways we see such modilions divided by arabesques, as along the perpendicular jambs and the semicircular arches that enclose these, we see a range of tablets, or cells, each containing the figure or bust of a saint, or angel, or other personage, but without the corbels and canopies afterwards intro-

duced in the pointed style. To these significant representations were still added the interlacings, and frets, and basket-work ornaments, already introduced in antique sculpture and mosaic, and amplified in the Byzantine style ; but in combinations still more extensive, varied and complicated.

The architectural numbers and divisions most conspicuous from their situation or their office, the columns, capitals, jambs, archivolt, friezes, and tympanums of the porches, the frames of the windows, the string courses, wall plates, cornices, pediments, and gables, were the chief receptacles of these various ornaments. Sometimes, as in San Zenone, and the dome of Verona, the dome of Modena, San Michele of Pavia, and San Ciriaco of Ancona, they were inserted as fasciæ, or stripes, in the front and side walls ; but the farther north we travel, the more we see the Lombard style diminish in the quantity and the elegance of its sculptured ornaments. The moment we cross the Alps, the terrific animals cease boldly to advance to support the columns of the porches, and to guard their entrances. If, as in St. Pierre at Gelnhausen, and in the Rheinhof\* of Cologne, they appear at all, it is in a pigmy form, and only half advancing from the mass, and like a dog barking from his hutch. In other respects some ancient churches in France, such as St. Trophime at Arles, St. Saturnin at Toulouse, Ste. Croix at Bordeaux, St. Pierre at Angoulême, and Notre Dame la Grande at Poitiers, are covered all over with *basso relievos* no longer seen

\* Plate LXIV.

in edifices of this era in Germany ; while even those on the Rhine, as the domes of Spire, of Worms, and of Andernach, in the elegance of their porches still far exceed the Norman edifices, and the English buildings of the same era, in which sham arches in *basso relievo*, intersecting each other, are the chief embellishments of the walls, and unmeaning fretwork adorns the jambs, columns, imposts, and arches.

It should not, however, be supposed that even at the fountain head all the ornaments were significant.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

## ON THE USE OF BRICK.

IN every tract originally an inlet from the sea, in which some large overflowing river has since formed vast plains of alluvial soil, where, while quarries may be distant, clay is every where found under foot, brick has been used for building.

On the banks of the Tigris, Babylon was built of brick — its lofty terraces have mouldered away into heaps of their original dust ; and, if we may judge from the various colours of its walls, as described by Herodotus, Ecbatana was of the same material. On the banks of the Nile it fared as on those of the Tigris. By the side of temples of imperishable granite, we find pyramids of brick, of which all the sharp angles have been long effaced.

In Greece there flowed no large rivers to produce an alluvial soil ; and as nature every where afforded a foundation of stone, man's superstructures were formed in accordance with the gifts of nature. Even at Rome, when the Plutonic congeries peperino, and the Neptunic composition, called traventine, as well as freestone and marble, were to be sought farther off than the ductile deposits of the Tiber, stone was only employed

very early, or throughout buildings very magnificent : of others, the body was constructed with baked clay, the facings only being of stone or marble. Bricks, in the form of lozenges, were even made either solely or in alternate layers with others, baked flat, to clothe the surface of many edifices ; and in some were even moulded, or were, after being cemented together in regular layers, carved into every variety of architectural ornament, as we see at Rome, in the remains of the Amphitheatrum Castrense, of the temple of the god Ridiculus, and in another building, where even the capitals, and the foliage of the Corinthian order are cut out of solid masses of brickwork. At the northern extremity of the Roman empire, on the Rhine at Cologne, are the remains of one of the round towers of the Prætorium, in which a mixture of stone and of brick offers mosaic representations of porticos and of palm branches. It is true that the texture of the Roman brick was very fine, and the cement (formed in part of pozzolano) so cohering, that it separated with more difficulty even than the brick itself, compact as it was : and, to heighten the effect of edifices built of this material, the red and the yellow were often contrasted as in those above mentioned.

When, afterwards, victorious Christianity required vast churches to be raised with the utmost expedition, those parts that could not be formed of ancient blocks of stone and marble were eked out with this material, as we see in San Paolo and other basilicas.

Even at Constantinople brick was used in the most considerable buildings. It formed the interior of Santa

Sophia's vast cupola; and of that ancient edifice in the Blachernæ, called the palace of Belisarius, the whole surface presents a chequer-work of brick of various hues.

But, above all, in the vast alluvial plain formed by the Po, however much the earlier buildings might be constructed entirely of stone from the distant quarry, those of later date were of brick and stone intermixed in equal proportions; and the still later edifices all, save those parts which, like the small shafts of the pillars, required at once to be delicate and detached, composed of the former, until at last unmixed brick took the place of unmixed stone. Thus, while at Pavia the ancient church of San Michele presents a west end wholly of marble, at Verona the dome only exhibits that part of stone which at first formed the whole of the earlier and smaller erection, and the subsequent extensions in width and height are in alternate stripes of stone and brick. Thus at Rome, all those Lombard square bell towers, of six or eight stories, added to the ancient churches, are entirely of brick, save the small columns that support their small arches. Thus we see in many of the ancient edifices at Parma, Piacenza, Venice, Verona, Mantua, and Milan, on a body of brick a rich embroidery of marble. Thus, in that most singular steeple at Milan, of the church serving as chapel to the palace, the walls are of red brick, and the small shafts all of the whitest marble; and thus, again, the later pointed churches at Milan, at Pavia, at Monza, and elsewhere, are entirely of brick, even to their most delicate tabernacle work and tracery.

Among the buildings in the Lombard style, half brick, half marble, are, at Murano, Santa Maria and Donato; at Verona, part of the dome:\* at Parma, the dome; and at Pavia, the church of the Augustine friars.

We have already seen that the natives of Lombardy early became celebrated as masons: early, therefore, they began in those parts of brick buildings, which, like arches, impost, friezes, cornices, and string courses, at once admitted and required somewhat more ornament, to show their ingenuity, by laying the materials in such a way that their sides and angles should offer various combinations resembling the teeth of a saw, the spine of a fish, the zigzag of a fish net, and others, easy of execution, and showy in their effect: and these we behold throughout Lombardy, and at Rome, in all the brick *campaniles*, and more especially in that singular assemblage of ancient fragments and later brickwork, supposed to have been the habitation of Nicholas, the son of Crescentius and Theodora.

This species of work, alike adopted at Constantinople and in Lombardy, became, in the former, the embryo and the life of those singular combinations of facettes and angles with which the Mohammedans afterwards covered in their buildings every capital and cornice, bracket and niche; and in the latter, the parent of the cord and the cable, the zigzag, or the chevron, the lozenge, the billet, the nebule, the embattled fret, and all the other ornaments, having no peculiar meaning, introduced in shafts, capitals, arches, and

\* Plate XXVII.



other members of Lombard buildings which we have since called Saxon; which have been introduced so early, that we see them all in the miniature paintings of a Syriac MS. of the Evangelists in the Medico-Laurentian library at Florence, written A.D. 586; and which appear in the edifices of the middle ages in greater number, as they are more wanted to supply the deficiency of sculpture and significant ornaments.\*

\* The note here inserted is extracted from a MS. work of the author, and may, perhaps, be appropriately added.

“The ancient Greeks seem every where in their mother country and their different later colonies to have found stone too plentifully to make great use of brick, though a few remains of terra-cotta cornices have been found even in Greece, as well as terra-cotta vases and bas-reliefs.

“The ancient Romans, wherever they found clay more abundant or easier to work than stone, used it plentifully, both in regular layers throughout the body of walls, as we do, and in an external reticulated coating, from the fineness of its texture and the firmness of its joints as durable as stone itself. Indeed, far from considering brick only as a material fit for the coarsest and most indispensable groundwork of architecture, they regarded it as equally fit for all the elegancies of ornamental form—all the details of rich architraves, capitals, friezes, cornices, and other embellishments. Sometimes it owed to the mould its various forms, and at others, as in the Amphitheatrum Castrense and the temple of the god Ridiculus, to the chisel.

“In modern Rome, too, very great use was made until very late periods of brick. Of the famous Farnese palace, begun by Bramante and finished by Michael Angelo, the plain surfaces are of brick, so fine in its texture and so neat in its joints, that by the superficial observer it is generally taken for stone. The balustrades, the entablatures, and other raised parts were cut out of the quarry afforded by the Coliseum. In the plains of Lombardy, where stone is rare, clay has, in buildings of importance, been moulded into forms so exquisite, as to have been raised into a material of value and dignity. In the ancient churches of Pavia, &c., it presents itself in all the delicate tracery of the middle ages; in the great Hospital, Campo Santo, and Castiglione palace, at Milan, it exhibits the arabesque, modillions, and scroll-work of the

cinque-cento style. On this side of the Alps, clay has never received forms quite so elaborate; still, in the south of France, particularly at Toulouse, remarkable instances exist. Along the Rhone carved tiles are formed into very elegant cornices and balustrades. Even in England brick was in former days moulded into forms intended to be handsome. But, whether in consequence of the high duty imposed upon brick, and the consequent limitation as to size and shape, or from the influence of the contracting system of building, the legal English brick has become the least durable and the most unsightly of that used in any country; and has hence produced that dislike to its colour and material, which proceeds, not from its intrinsic ugliness, but from association of the imagination with ideas of coarseness and meanness of construction."

## CHAPTER XXX.

## DOORS OF CHURCHES.

OF the original doors of the more ancient churches but few remain. San Paolo, at Rome, still possesses those wrought, in its infancy, at Constantinople, and rudely engraved. Santa Sabina has others very ancient and equally of wood, elegantly carved in mosaic compartments, and much resembling those of the Moorish work of the same description; and San Zenone, at Verona, boasts its wooden doors, with plates of bronze, wrought in relief, and showing, in the decrepitude of art, a perfect resemblance to its earliest attempts.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

A LIST OF CHURCHES IN THE LOMBARD STYLE  
WHICH POSSESS REMARKABLE FEATURES, ON THE  
CONTINENT.

I HAVE endeavoured to point out the particulars in which the architectural style — composed out of those of Rome and Byzantium, chiefly by the Lombard free-masons, and by these and the missionaries of the Latin church, under whose wing they travelled, diffused over every part of Europe, in holy allegiance to the pope — seems to have transmitted to its later offspring characteristics different from those of its earlier parents ; but I must request the reader to remember that, as that new style only arose out of the Roman basilica and the Greek cross (which began with the conversion of Constantine,) very gradually ; as it was not altered decidedly to the pointed style, even in the regions where the latter at last prevailed most exclusively, before the beginning or middle of the twelfth century ; and, as in the countries where it first arose, it even maintained its ground, to a certain extent, amid the reflux of the latter, until the revival of ancient architecture, its various specimens must, according to the different eras of their erection, offer many degrees of

these characteristics, modified in many ways, and mixed in different proportions with those of the styles that preceded or followed it.

I shall now, before I wholly dismiss the consideration of this style, shortly notice some of the edifices which I have observed, in their whole or in certain parts, to offer remarkable specimens of its chief peculiarities, beginning from Lombardy, which I consider as its fountain-head, as the country where it shows greater antiquity and luxuriance,—and from thence, passing gradually to its most distant extremities,—first, southward and eastward, and next, northward and westward. And as, in England, by the west front is always understood the principal entrance facing the choir, I shall, for the sake of conciseness, use that appellation, and name the other points of the compass according to the same analogy; though many of the Lombard churches, strictly speaking, may have varied from it. I shall have again to recall some of the churches described as basilicas, in which the transition from the basilica to the Lombard style is almost imperceptible; but while I may mention some churches, upon the whole, very insignificant, on account of some peculiarity of the Lombard style, I shall here abstain from noticing those, often very magnificent, found in the same places, which are decidedly of a later style.

#### PAVIA.

San Michele, built, according to Muratori, in the seventh or eighth century, by the Lombard kings, has

all the appearance of extreme antiquity ; is faced with stone and marble ; has in its west front a central and two side entrances, and a north entrance, all prodigiously rich in carved figures, arabesques, basket-work, &c. : the lintel of its north entrance contains three modillions, with angels between, very fine ; a representation of the titular St. Michael, in *basso rilievo*, over the central and the north entrance ; the front adorned with transverse fasciæ, representing hunts, arabesques, &c. almost to the top, and divided into three great divisions, by slender clustered pillars, rising from its base to its cornice, has a row of narrow, twin, round-headed windows about half way up. The south transept is cut perpendicularly by strips of long, narrow pilasters, from top to bottom : it has an angular east absis, an octagonal cupola ; small galleries, sloping on steps along the pediment, and embracing the absis and the cupola ; inside, a separate gallery for the women, and pillars with richly sculptured capitals ; the absis at the east end, with double-headed windows.

Pavia possessed an old church of San Giovanni-in-Borgo, of the same date, and much in the same style, now demolished ; and the dome also, originally in the same style, has been entirely disfigured. San Giovanni-in-Borgo had, like San Michele, double round-arched windows, small reed-like pillars, interlaced corbel tables, and galleries with small arches running on steps up the gable end.

Of a later date, but still in the same manner, is the church of the Augustine friars, in brick, with stone pillars and facings, wall plates with single, and others

with double, intersecting arches, galleries sloping along the pediment, and encircling the octagonal cupola. I do not here describe the town hall, for though presenting round, over pointed arches, it is altogether of a later date and style.

Near Pavia rises the celebrated Certosa, of which the octagonal cupola is internally remarkable, as a Lombard specimen, for the suspended pillars that support its ribs, and divide its small galleries: the sides and the east end, though in the Lombard style, are most wonderful instances of elegance in *terra cotta*, being of a much later date; and the west front dazzles the eye with marble, porphyry, jasper, bronze, and every sumptuous material in every gorgeous form; it is avowedly of the cinque-cento style.

#### MILAN.

Basilica of Sant' Eustorgio, the first of its churches, rebuilt in the ninth century, containing tombs and canopies of kings and martyrs, in the later pointed style, surrounded by a cluster of chapels of different ages; the last an elegant octagon in *terra cotta*, of the cinque-cento style, only connected with it by a small gallery.

Basilica of Sant' Ambrogio,\* already mentioned, with its quadriporticus, rich entrance door, gallery for women, groined arches, octagonal cupola, square towers, high crypt, richly sculptured Lombard ambo and ciborium, backed by an absis in mosaic.

\* Plate I.

Gallerata, between Milan and Arona, elegant intersecting arches on storied columns under the roof.

COMO.

On the site of the ancient city, at a small distance from the present one, is the church of San Carpofero, first bishop of Como, reckoned the oldest of the place, with round absis and square tower. The church, first dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and after the death of Sant' Abondius, third bishop of Como, in 469, to that holy prelate, buried within its precincts. It was the cathedral of the old city, presents single round-headed windows, with small pillars and arches, again enclosed in broad flat borders of the richest arabesque and basket-work. Though small, it has double aisles, and of the outermost range the pillars are smaller and the arches lower than of the innermost.

San Fidale,\* in the present city, a very old church, which was used as cathedral before the erection of the present: triangular arch with straight sides over entrance, octagonal cupola and round absis, small galleries outside, under the cupola, and a triforium or gallery inside for the women.

GRAVEDONE,

On the Lake of Como, possesses a very large old Lombard church, with small galleries round the different prominent parts, and a separate baptistery.

\* Plate XV.



## VERCELLI,

Between Milan and Turin, has a large church of Sant' Andrea, with a single tier of small galleries along the sides, and a double one at each end; underneath, in front, a large catherine wheel and two small steeples, one larger over the centre, and a detached bell tower; the nave pointed.

## LODI.

The dome, a canopy with a statue of the Virgin, forming the top of the pediment.

## BERGAMO.

Santa Maria Maggiore, built in 1134, by Maestro Fedro: round absis, and gallery under its cornice; rich round-headed door, with still richer pointed porch, added in 1360 by Giovanni Campellio; its columns supported by lions, grouped with their cubs and with children.

## BRESCIA.

Sant' Antonio: elegant round-headed door, with figure of the saint in a niche over the lintel, and compartments with busts of other saints in the arch around. The original dome,\* a very old rotunda, built in stone, and ascribed to the Lombard kings.

## VERONA.

San Zenone†—with front of marble and sides partly

\* Plate IX.

† Plate VI.

of brick, already described: its detached steeple of later date, and entirely of brick; and its cloisters rebuilt, according to the inscription on them, by Abbot Gaudio, in 1123—is entirely Lombard.

The dome,\* in which the council was held in 1185, shows its original smaller and richer front, entirely in the round style, up to the wall plates and cornice; and around this the subsequent less splendid additions in width and height, in alternate layers of marble and brick in the pointed style, which is likewise that of the more modernised interior. The porch supported by griffins holding balls: the *basso relievos* very rich, some representing chases; and one, the figures of Orlando and his companion Oliver. The south side is broken through in square and curved chapels, and the east end semicircular; the one and the other adorned with long narrow strips of pilasters supporting capitals, and a cornice of the most elegant description, approaching the antique and the cinque-cento styles: curious south entrances and canopy.

San Fermo†—whose patron became martyr in 302, under Diocletian, probably in the neighbouring arena: the rich round-headed door framed in mouldings going quite round the imposts and arch, without the interruption of capitals and architraves, preceded by a long flight of steps, which rises within its expanse; the very ancient subterraneous crypt, ascribed to the Lombard king, Desiderius, and to Anno, bishop in 755, is supported by square pilasters, instead of round columns; the wide nave has no aisles; the wooden

\* Plates XXVII. XXXIII. XXXIX.

† Plate XXXVII.

ceiling is very singular and elegant ; the angular absis has, outside, a small pediment at each facette, like many churches on the Rhine ; perhaps, with the other pointed work, added in 1313, by Gulielmo di Castelbarco, when he modernised the edifice. There is a curious canopied tomb against the front. There are others, as old and curious, against the wall of the convent of Sant' Anastasia, and the church of the Apostoli, and of Santa Eufemia. I speak not here of the later mausoleums of the Scaligeri.

## VICENZA.

In its clumsily repaired dome, the high crypt and choir present similar features with the late Lombard church of the Madonna del Rosario.

## PADUA.

The old baptistery :\* square underneath, and circular above.

The Palazzo Publico : containing a hall in the form of a rhomboid, about 300 feet long, 106 feet wide ; the arches of the colonnade, underneath, pointed ; those of the gallery above, round.

The cathedral : † in which some Lombard is mixed with more Byzantine and pointed architecture.

A curious tomb, in the sarcophagus form, at the corner of a street, called the tomb of Antenor : another handsome tomb, in the sarcophagus style, with semi-Gothic inscription, near the cathedral.

\* Plate VIII.

† Plate LXVII.

## VENICE.

San Marco is in the Byzantine, and some of the other principal ancient churches, such as that of San Giovanni and Paolo, the Madonna del Orto,\* and the Frari, are more in the pointed style: but there is much of Lombard elegance in the fronts of some of the palaces; and an old one exists which has a spiral staircase enclosed in an arcade of small round-headed arches, from which it takes its name of La Scala.

## MURANO,

An island in the Lagune: singular parochial church of Santa Maria and Donato,† with its polygonic east end and its slanting aisles in brickwork, adorned by small pillars and rich sculpture in marble; absis and floor covered with fine mosaics, and large detached campanile.

## TORCELLO.

Its dome has been described as more partaking of the basilica: its neighbouring church of Santa Fosca has more of the Byzantine cross, but the high, square, detached campanile is wholly Lombard.

## FERRARA.

A magnificent dome,‡ dedicated to St. George, who is represented over the centre door: its splendid porch with twisted columns, resting on human figures, themselves seated on lions; its numerous tiers of small

\* Plate LXVIII.

† Plate LVIII.

‡ Plate XXVIII.

arches, mostly pointed ; its three equal gables, along which slope small galleries, rising on steps and carrying pointed arches, so as to offer, with the Lombard form, the pointed finishing ; but we must regret its clumsy modernised inside and tower.

The Palazzo Publico, with its clustered windows, contained in wide arches, filled up with brick reticulations.

#### MANTUA.

Its superb dome, with deep recessed porch, Lombard, like that of Peterborough.

#### CREMONA.

Its dome and detached baptistery

#### PIACENZA.

Dome :\* the front is judiciously divided ; it has a centre porch, with columns resting on lions ; lateral porches, with pillars supported by human figures ; over each porch a canopy, formed of bracketed columns and arched pediments ; a large rose ; small galleries, creeping up the gable end before and behind ; the semicircular absis, and the octagonal cupola ; a high detached tower.

Palazzo Publico, † of brick and stone mixed : open pointed arches, on the ground floor ; round aisles, with wide and rich borders, formed of mouldings going quite round the imposts, and arches, without the interruption of capitals or architraves, enclosing rows of

\* Plate XXIX. LX.

† Plate XXIV.

lesser ones, some round-headed, some pointed, some slightly horse-shoed, some single, and some interlaced, forming the windows; a wall-plate of interlaced arches at the top.

San Donino, between Piacenza and Parma: rich Lombard dome; porch, with columns supported by lions; front, highly adorned; small galleries under the cornice, round the sides, and the semicircular east end.

#### PARMA.

The dome,\* finished and consecrated by Pope Pascal II., in 1106: centre porch, with columns on animals; side porches; several tiers of small galleries, the topmost rising towards the centre on steps in the gable end; similar galleries round the semicircular absides of the transepts, and the east end; and the octagonal cupola;† part of the wall-plates, single arches, highly decorated with sculpture; another part, with intersecting arches; on the north side, attached to the church, a chapel of beautiful brickwork, and, detached from it, a high square steeple; inside, round-headed arches, high crypt, and raised choir: all much modernised.

The singular baptistery,‡ octagonal without, with round-headed porch, most magnificently carved; four bands of detached small pillars, carrying plain architraves, and a fifth, carrying round-headed arches; a small turret on each angle; the interior with sixteen sides, and finished with pointed arches and converging

\* Plate XXX.

† Plate XIV.

‡ Plate VII.

ribs. The building of this baptistery was stopped for many years, because the warfare of Eccelino, in Lombardy, prevented the carriage of marble from Verona.

#### MODENA.

Dome: \* most singular and picturesque front; three doors, that in the centre with lions; several *basso relievos*; high arches, divided by bands of smaller galleries; canopy, with tomb over the principal entrance; over this an immense and gorgeous catherine wheel: grand south porch, with lions devouring oxen and sheep; transept, with flat arches: east end, a semicircle, formed of prodigiously high arches, intersected by a small gallery and two lesser lateral sections of arches; some of the capitals on the south side curiously formed of aërial and aquatic monsters, &c.; high Lombard steeple, with fine spire: nave, with round-headed arches, and gallery for women; the ceiling groined in the pointed style; before the lofty crypt, filled with small pillars to support the choir, a screen, with four columns supported on animals.

#### BOLOGNA.

The cluster, composed of four churches of an oblong square form, and a fifth round, said to have been the ancient baptistery of Bologna; a large cloister, with two rows of galleries, that underneath very clumsy, that above very elegant, and composed of slender columns, coupled, in the depth of the arches, with fanciful capitals, imitated from the Corinthian, and

\* Plate LXIX.

composed of monsters, supporting small round-headed arches; and over these a frieze, with other monsters; a smaller cortile, containing a font, whose inscription attributes it to the Lombard kings Luitprand and Ilprand; and various crypts and chapels; called the church of San Stefano.

## FORLÌ.

Dome, with curious gallery of small arches and pillars, supported on brackets, sloping along the gable end.

## RAVENNA.

I should not place here the church in the form of the Greek cross, which has already been mentioned, built by Galla Placidia; nor the round one, erected by Amalasantha; nor the octagon baptistery; nor the church of San Vitale; \* nor the other churches in the basilica style, which I have already described as chiefly belonging to an earlier period: but the round bell-towers, in the Lombard style, and the building commonly called the palace of Theodoric, probably built under the Lombard kings, as from it, Charlemagne took the columns for his church at Aix-la-Chapelle, which, by a later transfer, have been fixed in the Louvre at Paris.

## RIMINI.

Some curious brick fronts; but not San Francesco, which is in the pointed style, cased in a marble de-

\* Plate XI.



tached envelope of later date, containing, between superb arcades, the elegant sarcophagi of the Malatesti.

PESARO.

Some curious brick fronts.

FANO.

Some elegantly sculptured Lombard fronts; and the Palazzo Publico, with large round-headed arches, containing rows of smaller ones, which displays reticulated work, resembling that of St Ethelbert's tower at Canterbury.

ANCONA.

Not to repeat the description of San Ciriaco, which is more in the Byzantine style: the small collegiate church of Santa Maria della Piazza,\* in whose front several tiers of superior arches, and their columns, grow out of the columns of the inferior ones, without intervening fasciæ, or architrave, or string course, or horizontal division whatever.

FLORENCE.

San Miniato, on a hill outside the city, built in 1013, by Bishop Hildebrand, is, in general, earlier than the Lombard style; and within the city,—whose splendour is of a later date than the Lombard towns, and even than most others in Tuscany,—the principal architecture is of a more recent period.

\* Plate X.

## PISA.

Every traveller knows its cathedral, surrounded by little pillars, with round-headed arches, and its hanging tower in the same style; not to mention San Pietro in Grado, with nave and aisles, ending in one larger and two smaller central circular ends.

## LUCCA.

San Michele of the tenth, and Saint Martino of the eleventh century, both in the style of the dome of Pisa.

## AREZZO.

Dome in the Lombard style; detached octagonal baptistery, said to be of the ninth century.

## SIENNA.

Outside the gate, towards Rome, the round church of the Madonna degli Angioli.

## SAN QUIRICO.

Between Sienna and Radicofani; the church in the Lombard style, with singular porches, the one supported by the figure of an ecclesiastic and a knight; the other by columns interlaced with each other—each carried by lions.

## SPOLETO.

Out of the town, the church of San Pietro: front adorned with a great profusion of sculpture.

## ROME.

I have already observed, that this city — once the mistress of the world ; but first, when Constantinople was made the capital, reduced to the rank of second city of an empire ; and afterwards, when the greatest part of Italy became, under the denomination of ex-archate, a province of the eastern empire, to that of second city of a province—sacked by every barbarian—had decreased in wealth and population in so equal a proportion with the increase of other cities of Italy, that she could afford little scope for specimens of that architecture invested with the peculiar protection of its pontiff. Besides the absis of San Giovanni and Paolo with its small gallery, I know at Rome only the square steeples of the different churches, all built nearly about the same period, of brick, with stone pillars, and sometimes little modillions inserted of porphyry, serpentine, and even majolica, which are truly Lombard.

But south of Rome, in what is at present the kingdom of Naples, as at Bari, and in other places on the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, the small round-headed arch and the Lombard style again re-appear in numerous, though less striking, specimens.

Even if, crossing the whole width of the Mediterranean, we penetrate as far as the Holy Land, we shall find the church of the Holy Sepulchre—demolished in 1048 by the Kaliph Hakim, but thirty-seven years after rebuilt in its present state—though perhaps after Godfrey de Bouillon had in 1099 re-conquered Jerusalem,

he and his successors might have added to it the choir, or at least the steeple near it—alike in its circular part and in its choir, and in the square tower that stands near it—and which were probably rebuilt after the crusaders conquered Palestine, and Godfrey de Bouillon had been crowned King of Jerusalem—entirely in the Lombard style.

Nor is this style wanting even in Spain. Its more southern parts, indeed, for so many centuries possessed by Moorish kings, and adorned by their wealth and magnificence, contained nothing but Moorish fabrics that the Christians could occupy: but the cathedral of Tarragona, the largest in Catalonia, and supposed to have been built about the end of the eleventh century, exhibits, in its round arches and groins, the work of men connected with the great body of Lombard free-masons, who diffused their works over the greatest part of Europe.

*The Lombard Style on this Side the Alps.*

The Lombard style, which we leave behind us in every small community of the valley of Ossola, we again, on crossing the Simplon, find in every little town of the Valais: at Vierge, in the steeple of its church; at Sion, in the square tower of its cathedral; at Martigny, in the belfry, and the east end; and at St. Maurice, in the square tower of its principal place of worship: even at Geneva we find its remnants in the east end of the cathedral, of which the front has been modernised.

Passing into France, we no longer indeed find at

Dijon the old round church of St. Benigne, begun in 1005 by William, its abbot, which presented three regular stories, rising one above the other, round a tower, a well open to them from the bottom to the top, which formed their common centre; nor near Maçon the old church of Clugny, begun in 1008, with its rich western door, its nave, partly vaulted round with *plate-bandes*, partly groined, and its semicircular absis—both having been destroyed in the Revolution: but we observe at Vermanton the remains of a tall Lombard steeple, and at Autun, a cathedral still in full perfection, of which the Lombard shell, flanked by two Lombard towers, offers,—enclosing within its deep gulf a broad and high flight of steps, a vast and lofty western porch, adorned with pillars remarkably carved,—a north transept, whose smaller arches, with their Corinthian fluted pilasters, are evidently copied from those of the Roman city gates, still standing; a nave, rising in steps to the choir, with fluted pilasters, as evidently copied from some ancient monument, but whose capitals present grotesque figures with a Corinthian outline; and the upper parts and steeple of a later date, most elegantly pointed.

#### TOURNUS.

A church, with two remarkable steeples, in the Lombard style.

#### LYONS.

In the fine, but altogether later cathedral, some small round-headed arches over the transept and the choir,

with alternate columns and pilasters of the Lombard style; and near its west front remains of a cloister, or other edifice, of the earlier periods of that style.

#### VIENNE, IN DAUPHINÉ.

In the north side of its beautiful cathedral, under the cornice, a whimsical gallery, with columns in all sorts of grotesque shapes; and, above all, the old Lombard churches of St. Pierre and St. André-le-Bas, with their curious square belfries.

#### VALENCE.

The ancient cathedral, dedicated to Sant' Apollinare: wholly in the most ancient Lombard style, preceded by a very elaborate square tower, under which is the entrance; along the south side, under the cornice, a row of small arches, alternately round-headed and triangular; transept with pier in the centre; east end with absides braced by columns in the place of buttresses; nave with trunk-headed vault and *platebandes*; aisles very narrow; columns inside and outside much resembling the Corinthian.

#### AVIGNON.

Cathedral; octagonal cupola, resembling a Roman edifice; stupendous citadel of the popes.

#### AIX, IN PROVENCE.

Curious Lombard cloister of St. Sauveur, the cathedral, with its columns, some plain, some twisted, some in knots, and its grotesque round-headed arches.

## TARASCON.

Cathedral ; with curious Lombard south entrance, crowned by a range of small pillars, supporting a straight architrave.

## NEAR ARLES.

The very old church of St. Gravier ; presenting, in the details of its front, a clumsy imitation of members of Roman architecture on the pediment of its porch, the paschal lamb, and near its top a rich rosette or modilion, surrounded by the emblems of the evangelists, and enclosed in an arch slightly pointed.

## ARLES.

The gorgeous porch of St. Trophime, its cathedral : covered with figures, divided by small granite columns, resting on animals ; a column with a base of kneeling figures, and capital of angels dividing the door-way, and supporting its rich lintel ; a lion on each side of the lintel ; and grotesque figures instead of modilions under the cornice of its pediment ; nave with round-headed arches, and exceedingly narrow aisles.

## FREJUS.

A round Lombard baptistery.

## OLD CARCASSONE.

St. Nazaire, the cathedral, date 1096 : the nave with large round pillars, like those of Durham, supporting round-headed arches, and shooting forth into

smaller ones, which reach to the trunk-headed vault, with *platebandes*.

## TOULOUSE.

St. Saturnin ; said to have been first founded by St. Silvius, Bishop of Toulouse, and finished by St. Exuperantius : the present church apparently of the ninth or tenth century, though only fully completed in 1096 ; chiefly of brick, with stone finishings ; has a south porch with figures, whose rudeness resembles that of those of Persepolis ; a polygonic east end, with thick round, shooting forth into thinner pillars, swelling into three circular absides ; an octagonal steeple of brick and stone, of five stories, underneath the spire of which each, as it rises higher, retires pyramidically, and each presents, in all its faces, double arches, of which the two higher tiers have triangular heads ; all supported by slender columns, and divided by others at the angles, so as to produce a very striking *ensemble*. Length of the nave prodigious, flanked by double aisles ; single aisles round the transepts, whose ends have a pier in the centre, between two entrances. The high crypt which elevates the choir, seen through the arches of the gallery, round the absis ; trunk-headed vault, with *platebandes*.

St. Augustine, now the Museum ; and the Cordeliers, now the horse-barracks ; with steeples whose arches are equally triangular (though more modern,) as those of the flat belfry of the eglise du Tours, in the city, and of Ville Franche, on the road to Carcassone.



Other similar steeples in the neighbourhood, and one of *Martres*, whose pointed arches are each divided by a column, rising to the very top.

#### ST. GAUDENS.

A very old Lombard church; east end with three semicircular absides; wooden gallery sloping along the gable.

#### BOURDEAUX.

Church of *Sainte Croix*; attributed to *Guillaume le Bon*, Duc d'Aquitaine, who died in 897; but apparently finished in 1013; wide, round-headed portal, with pillars and arches, most gorgeously adorned with very singular bas-reliefs, as well as basket and fret-work; pillars spirally wrought, clustered at the corners; small richly adorned galleries over the porch; very large unfinished belfry, covered with several tiers of columns; nave with heavy round pillars; some pointed alterations without and within.

#### ROAD TO ANGOULÊME.

At the last stage, a church; front and steeple in the Lombard style; spires covered with stone fish-scale tiles.

#### ANGOULÊME.

Cathedral of *St. Pierre*: the front, in spite of depositions during the revolution, and repairs since, — from its numerous tiers of rich round-headed arches, on elegant columns; its statues in their niches; its

rich bas-reliefs in their tympanums; its exquisite arabesques in lintels, friezes, archivolts, &c.; its large central arch, with the vesica piscis, the emblems of the four evangelists; and the group of angels in clouds; its fine details, and its elegant general distribution, — perhaps the finest in the Lombard style known; the nave without aisles, but divided, by projecting piers, into three divisions, each carrying a cupola; a larger on a cylinder, internally round, and externally octagonal over the centre; round absis; contiguous to the north transept, high Lombard tower, with several tiers of round-headed windows.

#### POITIERS.

Notre Dame la Grande, front all covered with sculpture; round-headed centre entrance contiguous to two pointed lateral entrances of the same date, each bisected by columns; over these a double tier of rich arcades with statues, divided by a larger and loftier central arch; at the corners round towers, with detached columns as buttresses, and conic spires of stone tiles in the form of fish scales; diminishing gable end with similar and lozenge tiles, bearing in the centre a vesica piscis, with the Virgin enthroned. The interior is entirely Lombard, with very narrow aisles, rounded vault, and semicircular absis; some later pointed additions.

The cathedral, Lombard shell and east end. The latter externally, from its size and simple distribution, very grand.

Near it an oblong building, the oldest in Poitiers,

in the Roman, or very early Lombard style, called the church of St. John ; with arches, some pointed, some semicircular.

Saint Radegonde ; octagonal steeple over the entrance, flanked by one of round form, with stone fish scale spires ; no aisles ; crypt under altar, with tomb of saint ; semicircular absides.

PUY (in the Département de Haute Loire.)

Cathedral in the Lombard style ; striped.

#### TOURS.

Square steeple of pointed church of St. Julien, now a cavalry stable, with some of its arches approaching the horse-shoe form.

#### AUXERRE.

Lombard steeple of St. Eusèbe, since pointed ; with pointed arches between others round above and below, and some of a triangular form ; stone spire.

Lombard steeple of the church of St. Germain, now destroyed.

St. George of Boscherville, founded by Ralph of Tancarville, minister to William the Conqueror, one of the finest churches in the round style in Upper Normandy.

Abbey church of Jumieges, built by Abbot Robert, who was elected in 1037.

#### CAEN.

Abbey church of St. Stephen, built in 1064, by

William the Conqueror; and of the Holy Trinity, built by his duchess, Matilda.

Fine church of Abbey of Béc, destroyed in the revolution, and other fine churches in Normandy, in the Lombard style, but without the richness of sculpture of some of those above mentioned.

Church of St. Pierre, formerly cathedral of Lisieux, begun in 1049.

#### BEAUVAIS.

St. Etienne, built in the beginning of the eleventh century; pediment of north transept, Catherine wheel with figures ascending and descending all round; angels in lozenged compartments.

#### PARIS.

St. Germain des Prés, built in 1001. In nave columns with capitals shaped like Corinthian, but with curious grotesque subjects; some of the arches over them approaching the horse-shoe form; some of the windows wide, square, and with lintels supported in the centre by a single pillar.

#### POISSY.

Small church in the Lombard style with horse-shoe arches.

#### ETAMPES.

Fine Lombard steeple.

#### COMPIEGNE.

Lombard church of St. Corneille, said to have been built in 876, by Charles the Bold, at La Ferté Milon;

the church of St. Vast, very old Lombard ; and many others in France in that style, which I have not seen.

#### ZURICH.\*

This city, in 1259, flourished sufficiently to have a librarian attached to its cathedral, which presents a north entrance, highly adorned in the Lombard style ; two towers at the west end, and the rudiments of two at the east end ; inside, galleries for the women ; pillars, some with rich grotesque capitals, and round arches. The cloisters, now a play ground for the school-boys, are remarkable for the enrichments of their small pillars and round-headed arches ; enclosed at each third in the row within larger ones, supported by large columns.

#### SCHAFFHAUSEN

Presents rude cloisters, and a steeple in the Lombard style.

Following the Rhine into Germany, we might formerly have found in the gate of the monastery of Lorsch, on the Bergstrasse, built in 774, rows of rudely imitated Ionic columns, supporting arches with flat sides, meeting at an angle, like the cornice of a pediment.

#### SPIRE.

The cathedral, † (which was built in the beginning of the twelfth century, and in 1794 gutted by the French revolutionists, who destroyed the tombs of the

\* Plates IV. V. XLIV. XLV. XLVI.

† Plate LXX.

emperors, and dispersed their bones,) though a ruin, and of the reddish stone of the country, which makes it look fresh, or even painted, presents, in one unbroken expanse, a length of 565 German feet, and a proportionate height and substance; and in point of dimensions is probably the most stupendous edifice, in the Lombard style, existing. The west end, or entrance, a piece of patch-work, was destined to have had, like the cathedrals of Worms and Mayence, two towers, as well as the east end. A magnificent gallery of small columns and arches circulates internally under the cornice, round the body of the nave. The architectural members over the gallery, and around the large round-headed windows underneath, particularly of the south transept, are adorned with scrolls and foliage, remarkable for elegance as well as richness;\* almost rivalling, and in many instances presenting a direct imitation of the antique. Transepts ending in a square form, with a pier in the centre. Towers beyond it square, and of stupendous height. The circular absis,† belted at the top by a small gallery, rested against a pediment with small arches, now no more; and the octagonal cupola, with its small galleries, still wears an ugly modern cap. The nave, whose height and width strike the beholder with awe, has, against massive square pillars, long semi-columns, supporting round-headed arches. At about two-thirds of its length it is raised by the height of two steps, and of ten more next the choir; which rises over a subterraneous church, or crypt, still showing remains

\* Plate XXXV.

† Plate XVII.

of paintings in the Greek style. The elevated altar stands immediately under the cupola. Contiguous to the south transept was a square chapel, with rude imitations of the Corinthian order, in columns forming a quincunx, and corresponding pilasters, now wholly in ruins.

#### WORMS.\*

The cathedral is one of the oldest in Germany, begun in 996, and consecrated in 1016, built of the same red stone with that of Spire: has two round towers, and an octagonal cupola, as well at the west as at the east end, there being entrances only at the sides, and the altar and choir at one end being destined for the service of the priests, and at the other, of the chapter. Angular absis† at east end, west front flat, both very grand, and adorned with galleries, of which the small pillars have rich capitals, and rest on bases formed of grotesque monsters; similar galleries belt the round towers. Over the south entrance projects a canopy, whose columns, carried on brackets, are bent in the middle. The north entrance, and neighbouring chapter-house, present some very beautiful florid Gothic. On the pediment over the porch, under a rich canopy in high relief, is seen a figure of a queen riding on a chimera, with the heads of an eagle, a lion, and a man; the stone spires are decorated by windows, with whimsical perforated balls; the inside presents high, narrow, round-headed arches.

\* Plates XL. XLI.

† Plate XVI.

## MAYENCE

Has a vast cathedral,\* of which the oldest part was begun in 978, and finished in 1009, by Elector Conrad. Like Spire and Worms, and most other great buildings in that district, it is of reddish stone; has four towers, absides externally, and choirs internally, at each end, and entrances only at the side. In the south transepts, the arches and wall plates present a confusion of trefoiled, cusped, and scalloped heads, and the architecture is more whimsical and overloaded, than pleasing.

## GELNHAUSEN,

Once an imperial city of note. Ruins of the palace of Emperor Frederic Barbarossa:† flat arches and columns, with curious capitals at the end of the chapel. Fine remains of the Hall of Justice, and of its small round-headed arches, each formed into triplets, and supported by twin columns, with elegant foliated capitals; observe the trefoil arch on one side, and the curious bracketed columns and tablets, with basket work, on the opposite side.

Cathedral:‡ of a late, but elegant and singular Lombard style; approaching the pointed, (attributed to the first half of the thirteenth century, and the reign of Frederic II.) with high and slender pillars to the galleries, many carrying trefoil arches, square

\* Plate LIV.

† Plates XXXIV. XLIII. XLVII. LXXI. LXXII.

‡ Plate LIX.



tower at the west end, and large octagonal steeple, with two smaller spires at the east end. The inside presents, over the square centre of the transepts, a very elegant lantern, supported on eight pointed arches; those at the corner springing from the opposite faces of the angle; the nave has pointed arches, under round-headed windows.

Remains of the church of St. Peter:\* with two round towers, and a porch with columns, supported by busts of lions.

#### NIEDER INGELHEIM,

The birth-place of Charlemagne. A church with tall, square, Lombard steeple,† scoloped arches, and pediment over each side.

#### BACHARACH.

Old church,‡ with round absis, and small galleries, with round-headed arches under it. From Mayence to Cologne, the steeples have multiplied facettes, and a pediment over each; one of remarkable form at Oberwesel.

#### BOPPART.

Cathedral;§ remarkable for the various shapes of the arches, in its front, sides, and semi-octagonal absis; some of the latter being pointed, but evidently of the same age with the round-headed; small gallery under the roof of the absis; inside galleries for the women,

\* Plate XXXI.

† Plates LV. LXXIII.

‡ Plate LXXXVI.

§ Plate XXXVIII.

with small round-headed arches, supported on twin columns, and enclosed in larger ones ; wall-plates with arches, some round, some pointed, some in slips ; a rosette in the pediment.

## COBLENTZ.

St. Castor,\* built by Louis the Pious, and endowed by his daughter Ritza, who is buried in it. A council of seventy-two bishops was held in it in 860. Its circular absis presents a lower tier of trefoil arches, and a belt of small round-headed arches under the cornice. It has four steeples.

## ANDERNACH,

One of the oldest cities on the Rhine ; fine cathedral †, in which is said to be buried the second Valentinian ; it has a square tower at each of the four corners, presenting a high pediment over each face ; besides a majority of arches that are round-headed, it offers some of different forms, some pointed, belonging to the original fabric, and some inserted since ; circular absis, with small galleries and arches, resting against a gable end, whose arches and pillars follow its slope ; profile of the mouldings quite resembling the Roman style ; elegant south entrance ; nave furnished over its aisles, with a gallery for the women, formed of double round-headed arches, resting on black marble columns, and enclosed in larger arches ; vaulting round.

\* Plate LIII.

† Plates LI. LV. LXII.

## BONN.

Fine cathedral\*, said to have been built by the Empress Helena, to whose time may be ascribed the high crypt, on which is elevated the choir; three semicircular absides, externally belted under the cornice, with very elegant galleries of small arches and pillars, on panelled balustrades, with two square towers, filling the angles between them, terminate the transepts and the choir; a high steeple, with many ranges of arches, rises over the centre.

I shall here observe, that, along the Rhine, all the churches in the Lombard style, with two steeples only, have them at the east end, between the two absides of the transepts and that of the choir; and the east ends of these churches look like those of the Greeks, or the mosques of Constantinople.

Bonn possessed two curious old round churches, one fallen from age, the other was destroyed by the French.

## COLOGNE.

Birth-place of Agrippina, and where she afterwards sent a Roman colony, from which it took its name; in the middle ages, often, from the wealth, power, and considerable foundations of its bishops, called the Rome of the North. The Church of the Apostles†; begun by Herbert, thirty-third Bishop of Cologne, who died in 1021, and finished by Pelegrinus, his successor, who died in 1036. Three absides, or semicircular cupolas, with slim octagonal steeples between them, rising un-

\* Plate LXI.

† Plates XXI. XXII. XXIII.

diminished to the top from the transepts and the choir. Their common centre is crowned by an octagonal cupola, which, as well as the three absides, is belted, immediately under the cornice, by galleries of small arches, on small columns, coupled in the depth of the arch, resting on a panelled balustrade, such as is displayed by all the other churches at Cologne, Bonn, Andernach, Coblenz, Boppart, and other cities on the Rhine, of the same period, and covered with a low ribbed roof of lead, so as to present a striking resemblance to some of the oldest Greek churches in some of the remotest parts of Asia Minor : and, at the same time, in its proportions, as airy and elegant, and calculated to magnify its apparent size, as the heavy, clumsy, English, Saxon roof often does the contrary. A nave, and beyond it a square tower, under which is the principal entrance, terminate the west end ; and both the tower and the octagon spires have, over each front, a pediment.

Saint Gereon\*, named after a captain of the Roman legion, quartered in the *Prætorium Militare*, which stood near this spot, and, in the persecution of Diocletian and Maximinus, martyred with his men on its very site, is said to have been first founded, in 337, by the Empress Helena, rebuilt by Charlemagne, and finished by Hanno, thirty-sixth bishop of Cologne, who died in 1075. By a singular and theatrical distribution, arising out of these various increments, its body presents a vast octagonal shell and cupola, the pillars of whose internal angles are prolonged in ribs, which,

\* Plates XVIII. XIX. XX.

centering at the summit, meet in one point, and lead, by a high and wide flight of steps, rising opposite the entrance, to an altar and oblong choir behind it; whence other steps again ascend to the area between the two high square towers, and to the semicircular east end, belted, as well as the cupola, by galleries with small arches and pillars, on a panelled balustrade, in the style of the Church of the Apostles. The entrance door, with square lintel, low pediment, and pointed arch, is elegant; and the crypts show some remains of handsome mosaics; but the porphyry columns were carried away by the French. Several of the finishings are pointed, and the furnishing still more modern.

Saint Ursula—said (according to the *Sacrarium Agrippinæ*, by Erhardus of Winheim, *Coloniæ*, 1736, and the *Catalogus Episcoporum Coloniæ*, from which I have these and the preceding dates) to have been finished in 922, by Clinatus, is, in part, in the same style with the former churches, though a portion has been added in a later style.

Santa Maria\* of the Capitol: regarded as the oldest church in Cologne, and as built on the site of the *Prætorium Prefecti*, and the Capitol, by Plectruda, wife of Pepin. Externally, in the same style with the Church of the Apostles; internally, resembling a Greek church still more, and, in fact, a counterpart of one existing among the ruins of Seleucia, since round its semicircular absides, and east end, run internally semicircular rows of columns supporting round arches.

Saint Martin's church likewise shows, internally, the

\* Plate LXXIV.

Greek distribution. It has a very large and beautiful square steeple, with four lesser turrets at the angles, some unfinished, and a belt of small arches and pillars, on panelled balustrades.

Saint Cunibert.\*—West entrance, with sculpture and ornaments, exquisitely elegant, and entirely in the Lombard style, though over the square lintel and low pediment the arch is pointed; out of its impostes spring lions; singular rose windows along its aisles: round absis, with the usual small gallery under the cornice.

Saint Andrew.—Founded in 954, by St. Bruno, twenty-eighth Bishop of Cologne, and brother of Otho the Great, seems, however, originally to have been built in the same style with the former churches, and still has the same octagonal centre, and steeple over it, with ribbed and pedimented spire, though in the remaining parts of a more modern Gothic.

Saint Pantaleon.—Founded by the same St. Bruno, and richly endowed by Theophania, the wife of Otho II., who is buried here.

Fine porch, with square lintel, low pediment, and Lombard arch, of the Rheinhof.†

A number of churches and monasteries being outside the city, Philip of Heinsborch, Archbishop of Cologne, in 1187, constructed, to enclose these, and to defend the city, its fine walls, with eighty-three square towers. At that time, also, the Chronicle says, numbers of new churches were built and repaired in imitation of the Milanese style of that period, in conse-

\* Plate XLVIII.

† Plate LXIV.

quence of the translation of the bodies of the Magi from Milan to Cologne.

#### AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

Round church : built by Charlemagne ; destroyed in 880, as well as several churches of Cologne, by the Normans ; and again rebuilt by Otho III., who was crowned in it in 983\* ; octagonal cupola ; ribbed, and pedimented galleries round its cylinder ; fine high choir, in the pointed style.

#### LIEGE.

Church of Ste. Croix : † round absis, with small galleries ; octagonal steeple, with pediments ; part round-headed, part pointed arches.

#### TOURNAY.

Cathedral : transepts ending in semicircular absides ; roofed by a semicircular and ribbed vault, supported by a range of columns ; the north and south porches with horse-shoe pointed arches, surmounted by a row of diminutive round arches, standing on twisted columns.

More eastward, along the Danube, there are other churches in the Lombard style ; and even in the cathedral of Vienna it peeps forth in the small steeples that flank the west front : nay, to go so far north as Upsala in Sweden, its first church, built in 1118, by St. Eric, on the ruins of the most celebrated temple of Odin,

\* Plate LXXV.

† Plate LII.

and dedicated to St. Lawrence, still shows its round arches in the parochial Lutheran church, into which it has been converted.

The architecture of the Continent, as well as other arts of industry and elegance, was imported into England by the missionaries from Rome, and the freemasons from all parts of the Continent (whose traces are supposed to be found as far back as the reign of Alfred), at a period prior to the Conquest, and, probably, immediately after the long interruption produced in the constructing of important edifices, by the devastations of the Danes.

The abbey church of Romsey, in Huntingdonshire, the first great church undertaken after that period, about the middle of the tenth century; the crypts of the cathedral of Winchester, begun in 980; and the oldest parts of Canterbury, Tewkesbury, Durham, Peterborough, Ely, and others, were in that style: and Edward the Confessor, who had been educated in France, is even stated to have introduced in his new church of Westminster, built about 1050, the recent novelties adopted by the French: but when the Norman duke William became king of England, when every great ecclesiastical benefice in this kingdom was filled by some Norman prelate, nursed in the seminaries of Bec, and of Caen, almost every cathedral, and other ecclesiastical building already existing, came to be replaced by a new edifice on a grander scale; yet, so much continuing in the same Lombard style as before, that the transepts of Ely cathedral, begun in



1088, internally and externally, and the part of the western front not destroyed in the new and wretched repairs ; as well as the more ancient parts of the cathedrals of Canterbury, Winchester, and even Durham, erected since the Conquest, still perfectly retain traces of the style of Lombardy ; and, sometimes, almost of Byzantium. Indeed, it might not be going too far to suppose, that in such churches as that of the old Temple in London, dedicated in 1185, by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and taken down in 1240 ; and the porch of Ely cathedral, erected by Bishop Eustathius, in the year 1200, and once called, as well as that of Durham, the Galilee ; the parts not spoiled, and obliterated by subsequent alterations, were expressly intended to retrace the style of Constantinople. The old parts of Gloucester cathedral, constructed by Bishop Alfred in 1046 ; and of Norwich cathedral, founded in 1096, by Lozinga, are specimens of the Lombard style in England.

Still, it must be owned, that as, in the more northern parts of France, so in England, the Lombard style has a more clumsy aspect than in more eastern or southern regions : as little in England as in Normandy do we see those more elegant modifications of that style — those circular terminations to the transepts and east end ; those octagonal cupolas over the centre ; those numerous towers ; those long ranges, and belts of small galleries fringing these, immediately under the cornice, which give so much grace to buildings of the same sort on the Rhine ; as little those galleries of the same nature, sloping along the edge of the

pediments; and least of all, that rich and gorgeous sculpture, those innumerable figures, those bas-reliefs, those arabesques, that foliage, which, near the fountain-head of the Lombard style, are conspicuous in the lintels, the imposts, the archivolts of the porches, round the windows, and the wall-plates, and the cornices, and often in the flat parts of the fronts and pediments;—that the ornaments are chiefly confined to the most unmeaning and clumsy which belong to the style: I shall, therefore, give no enumeration of the English specimens, and feel the less reluctance to omit them, as they are well known. I shall content myself with pointing out, as among the most remarkable, some parts of the Cathedral, of St. Ethelbert's Tower, and particularly of the stair of the Registry Office at Canterbury; the small church of Barfreston, in Kent, and of Castle Rising, in Yorkshire; parts of Winchester, Peterborough, and Norwich cathedrals; the doorway of Malmesbury Abbey, the Castle of Norwich, &c.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE CHARACTERISTICS, OF THE  
POINTED STYLE, AND ITS UNIVERSAL ADOPTION  
ACCOUNTED FOR BY ITS PECULIAR QUALITIES.

## POINTED ARCHITECTURE.

JUST at the period when that which may be called the Round, or Lombard style of architecture, appeared throughout the dominions of the Latin church, most firmly and universally established — when it had, from its first source, spread in every direction, as far as the most extended influence of that church itself—when its forms might, in a manner, have served to mark, throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa, the precise extent and limits of the papal authority—when, from its universal prevalence, it seemed to have secured an unlimited duration in the latter half of the twelfth century—we see it all at once abandoned for a style, both in its essential principles, and its ornamental accessories, entirely new, and different from that, and from every other former style ; of which I shall begin, by stating the peculiar purposes, as shown by the modifications themselves, and the more important transformations devised to attain these ; forming its distinctive

characteristics from its first birth, and through all the successive stages of its further development, till the time of its final extinction. After this, I shall investigate how — when — where — among whom — it arose, and what different, lesser, more partial, and secondary changes it successively experienced previous to its ultimate abandonment. I shall then endeavour to trace the causes of that abandonment.

Of every Latin community, the clergy was the body possessed of the greatest power and wealth, and was the chief and almost exclusive patron of every art of peace, and as it gained strength and riches, still became more intent upon increasing its opulence and its influence. The members, therefore, of this profession, felt desirous in all places to construct churches, so as to afford room for the reception of the largest congregations, for the marshalling of the longest processions, and for the performance of the most numerous, simultaneous services, or masses; and by their form, appearance, size, height, and grandeur, to distinguish these most pre-eminently from, and to raise them most superior to, all other secular buildings of the cities. Sometimes also they sought to eclipse the churches of rival orders or monasteries, and by their magnificence, to attract the greatest admiration, and to inspire the greatest reverence. In districts where the requisites for constructing buildings of a good and solid description were rare, it was desirable to attain all the above-mentioned purposes with the smallest quantity of necessary materials. In countries where winters long and severe occasion snow-falls very frequent and

heavy, it was useful to combine with great extent and elevation, surfaces so modified as to afford to the snow as little opportunity as possible of attaching itself to, and accumulating upon them. In ages when monasteries were the chief, almost the only, refuge of the arts of peace; when to serve the church was considered as the most effectual means of serving God; when the monks belonging to the different convents were themselves the chief designers and executors of the religious buildings they wanted, or found, ready to forward their views to the fullest extent, bodies of freemasons enlisted under the banners of the church, and as much in its interest as the religious orders themselves; the planners and builders of churches alone were found disposed to exert all the faculties of their mind and body, in attaining to the full extent the purposes here above stated. Indeed, in order to accomplish these in the completest and most effectual manner, do all the new peculiar characteristics of the style in question appear solely and exclusively to have been conceived.

In every prior style of architecture, those continued masses of masonry called walls, were made to serve a double purpose; first, of enclosing the area intended for use on the sides, and next, of supporting the covering that was to protect it overhead from the descending elements. They were consequently made at once of great thickness and great size, so as to oppose in many directions, to the unconfined extension of the area, bars and obstacles; and, moreover, to consume a great quantity of materials. If, for the

purpose of combining with equal means of support, a space less obstructed, insulated pillars with intervening openings were in part substituted ; these were made only to share with the continued wall, still indispensable for enclosure, the task of supporting the covering overhead. Horizontal beams in one piece were no longer laid directly from pillar to pillar (as in the Grecian architecture,) serving the purpose of tying together the perpendicular supports underneath, as well as that of themselves offering transverse supports to the parts above them ; but frequently in the Roman, and generally in the Byzantine and Lombard styles, arches were thrown across from column to column, in order to gain, with greater height, and breadth of intervening space, a covering at once wider and less weighty than that which stone beams, and less liable to decay and conflagration than that which wooden rafters, could afford. These were, in general turned semicircularly, so as to offer towards the sky less height, and more spread, than arches pointed at their summit ; but, at the same time, they imposed a weight and pressure so much greater in a straight downward, than in an oblique and outward direction, that walls or pillars, of a good substance, directly under them, sufficed for the requisite support and resistance, without requiring those additional masses, carried out beyond the line of the perpendicular pressure, and affording an oblique counter-pressure, called buttresses. In the earlier styles, walls thus serving as well for support as for enclosure, only permitted the apertures for supplying light to receive an inconsiderable extension, and the

arches, still rounded and spreading, only to be covered by roofs of a moderate pitch and sharpness.

In the new fashion, architects conceived the idea of making the essential supports and stays of the stone building entirely like those of an edifice put together of wood, or of a timber frame, in which the various parts requisite for general connection and support only occupy a small portion of the whole solid mass requisite for enclosure and covering, and leave the wider interstices intervening between them, to be filled up by mere loose ekings out—by lath and plaster.

Like the carcasses of vertebral animals, those various parts necessary for the general substance and stay of the body—the bones, and ribs, and spine—were moulded into long slight masses, distant from each other, and left between them intervals filled up by yielding flesh and thin integuments; men no longer constructed for the general support of the parts above any continued walls, but only pillars insulated, and at a distance from each other, which might leave, in every direction between and around them, an unobstructed space and passage; but whose complicated situation relative to each other, if made to support arches and vaults, instead of flat horizontal beams, must cause those arches and vaults to present interstices vastly more varied.

As walls or architraves, continued in a horizontal direction for the support of the parts above, existed no longer, whatever arches were thrown across the pillars for the support of the roof could no longer be made trunk-headed, and so as literally to require a continued

support underneath, nor even groined in such equal thickness and weight throughout, as thereby to bear too hard, and lie too heavy, on these insulated pillars.

In the vault, now always made groined, the parts of the arches at right angles with each other, and of the intervening cross springers, which were to fall immediately on the pillars, acquired the exclusive task of supporting directly the timbers of the roof above ; and received alone the strength and substance requisite for that purpose ; and were converted from continued inclining bodies to ribs and stays, narrow and separate from each other, leading between them, like the pillars, wide insulated spaces : architects only tied the summit of each to that of each of the rest, by transverse beams or joists of stone, called ridge stones, forming to them a sort of spine, and with them a species of reticulation ; nay, in order that these separate stays, thus multiplied, might combine, with less width, greater strength, they converted them from the wide shallow bands apparent in the Lombard construction, into deep but narrow plates, rounded downwards.

When thus was formed for the sides and the ceiling of an edifice, a skeleton of long and thin solid and connected masses, leaving between them wide interstices on the sides and overhead ; wherever the former required lateral enclosures from the intrusion and gaze of men, walls were elevated, which, exonerated from all task of general support to the arches or roof, or other parts alone, and themselves stayed by the pillars, between or around which they were carried, only received as it were the substance of mere partitions ;



and where the latter required vertical enclosures from the admission of descending elements, integuments were thrown across, which, having nothing to support and being supported by the ribs, might be, and were, for the purpose of not pressing too hard on the ribs, made of the lightest materials, and of the thinnest substance.

Nor was this all. Though at first these arches and these cross springers still were made semicircular, soon, for the purpose of attaining more of that elevation desired for conspicuity and pre-eminence, in addition to the horizontal space acquired by substituting pillars for walls, and in that elevation, more of that aspiring form, that absence of spreading surface, which gives a low pitch to the roof, and a lodgement to the snow, and to gain this object, more means of supporting a roof sharp, yet light—not only the upright pillars were made very tall, but the arches and ribs, and cross-springers over them, instead of semicircular, were made pointed. But while the round-headed arches in the Lombard style, pressing almost entirely in a straight downward direction, and on walls of considerable thickness, only required buttresses so shallow, that whatever masses appear in that shape, seem rather to be mere ornaments, and intended to break the even surface of the wall, than as stays of use or necessity, these new arches and ribs, and cross springers all pointed, weighing less heavily on the piers immediately under them, and finding perpendicular pillars less strong, equal to meet their object, but imposing a pressure oblique, and tending to drive these supports

outwards, demanded an oblique counter pressure, to meet it, as much greater as their summit rises higher, and caused the points on the surface of the earth, from which that counter-pressure is to be derived, to be wider asunder. Thence it arose that masses of masonry sloping upwards, and called buttresses, were added, at a certain distance from them, to the perpendicular pillars.

When, from the excessive height of the arch, the farthest point on which the diverging pressure rested for support, became so remote from that which bore the vertical weight met by the pillars, that between the two there intervened a space, on which the building reposed but little for strength, and where a solid body of masonry could only produce an unnecessary waste of materials and heaviness of appearance, these buttresses themselves were, at that point on which the arches joined the pillars, detached outwardly from these perpendicular supports, and carried downwards and outwards to that more distant spot on which they were to abut and rest, each in the form of one side of an arch, and became what are called arched or flying buttresses.

The loftier central arch, immediately over the middle space, and serving to support the central roof, might be said only to form the upper half of the entire arch, of which the lower halves, or continuations, detaching themselves on each side outwardly from the pillars, and piercing through any wall, or continuous enclosure, which might immediately surround these, reached in unbroken continuation downwards to the surface of the ground; and the architect, in order to avail himself of

the additional room thus offered underneath and within the body of the flying buttresses, introduced lower passages, or aisles, or chapels, around the principal area, with ceilings, having lower arches of their own : nay, where the central vault was carried to such an elevation, that the flying buttresses presented underneath, between themselves and the pillars, a sufficient height and width for the purpose, their downward pressure was again divided at a point intervening between that of their detachment from the pillars and their reaching the ground ; and was imposed partly on a second row of pillars, and partly upon the last and farthest point of the oblique stay, so as to admit a second row of aisles round the first, between them and the chapels.

Of these flying buttresses, at first only short and close to the body, like the pinions of an unfledged bird, and considered as mere expedients, the upper parts were hid beneath the roofs of the aisles ; but afterwards, when they became too wide and spreading for such concealment, they not only appeared outside, but were made, by their boldness, a subject of pride, ostentatiously displayed and richly adorned ; and because additional vertical weights upon that part of the arch which is above the point where it joins the pier is calculated to counteract the divaricating tendency produced upon the latter by the external pressure of the former, the additional weights were superimposed on them in a pyramidal shape, which have since been called pinnacles, and have marked outside the different rows of pillars within, and the individual pillars of each row.

Thus was discarded that cupola, the noblest offspring of the arch, the most glorious addition which since the suppression of the pure Grecian style was made to architecture ; that which alone might be considered as making full amends for the deterioration in its details which it had experienced ; that feature which the Byzantines so highly appreciated, as in their churches to give to the four ends of the cross an equal length, and a considerable width, for the express and sole purpose of affording a sufficient base to its central expansion, and to show its full height ; which even the Lombard churches in Italy were made to preserve at the end of the longer naves of their Latin crosses, in an easier formed, but less elegant, octagonal shape, and covered by a flattish roof ; which, in spite of the barbarism of their architecture in other respects, crowns the present mosques at Constantinople so majestically, as to render them more ornamental, in the general views of the city, than are any of the edifices of Christendom ; and which gives the finishing stroke to the superb Mogul monuments of India. Supposing that, in a system of architecture wholly calculated to avoid offering a vast horizontal surface to the falling snows, its spread had not presented an insurmountable objection, it could no longer, over the crossing of aisles and transepts, whose whole system necessarily carried them to a height quite disproportionate to their width, be endowed with grandeur sufficient to appear otherwise than a useless and stunted addition. Height, therefore, was made the compensation for want of expansion ; and, instead of a cupola generally spreading beyond the width of the

nave, a steeple, resting on the four pillars at which it was crossed by the transepts, was carried up into a square, diminishing in circumference as it rose to an elevation corresponding with that of the nave.

We have seen that, in the earlier times of Christendom, the belfry, considered as an object wholly distinct from the church, was placed at a distance from it ; and that, in the Lombard style, the tall, square, undiminishing *campaniles*, only covered by a flat roof, often when there was sufficient room, remained thus separated ; but that in the churches of the same style, north of the Alps, for the sake of enabling the ringers to avoid the inclemencies of the weather, the belfry was attached to the church ; and that, for the sake of better screening that belfry from the inconveniences of the weather, it was covered with a high sharp roof ; that, moreover, for the purpose of giving symmetry to the church, it was placed over the centre of the crossing, or in that of the front : in the former of which cases, the passage to the choir, in the other, the porch and entrance into the nave, was constructed underneath it ; or that, to gain richness, combined with symmetry, two steeples were erected at the anterior, and sometimes two others at the posterior angles.

This general arrangement still was preserved in edifices of the pointed style : in the fine church at Friburg, a single superb steeple stands in the middle of the front ; at Rheims and Paris, two of great size flank the sides ; and at Lyons, four adorn the four corners of the cathedral.

The system of carrying every thing to the greatest

height, and bringing it to the utmost sharpness, introduced into the body of the churches, was for the same purposes, first of utility, next of harmony, followed in the steeples. The emulation of rival cities, by a contrast which at first appears strange,—in the flattest regions, carried them to the most prodigious eminence, probably because lofty edifices were, in these countries, conspicuous from the greatest distance. Those of Utrecht, of Antwerp, of Mechlin, and of Brussels, as well as on the flat banks of the Rhine at Cologne and at Strasburg, are, or were intended to be, the highest existing. The finished steeple of Strasburg is 474 feet high.

Out of the flat covering of the square *campaniles* of Italy, in more northern climates grew the high pyramidal roof of the often octagonal steeple of Germany; and this latter was again, in its turn, raised and made to grow into the still sharper spire that succeeded. In most countries, however, this spire remained to the tower underneath, a supplement or addition in wood, or in stone, which had no direct connection with it, possessing no arches or vaultings, and appearing to be a separate superstructure that might not, or might be added, *ad libitum*; and to many of the steeples in England and France, is not added at all. But in the later edifices of Germany, such as those of Ulm, Frankfort, and Vienna, the architects seem, from the very foundation, to have contemplated the utmost summit, and to have so planned and executed the structure, as that from the very base it should continue in a series of arches, growing out of each other, and

receding behind each other, and pyramidising to the very top.

As in this style of prodigiously high naves, the light, falling very indirectly on the deep area underneath, required to be admitted in the greatest quantities possible, and as in walls, only demanded as screens, not as supports, the extension of the aperture could produce no dangerous weakening of the mass, the interstices between the pillars were filled with windows, at first clustered, and next, both for the sake of giving greater light, and of more fully showing the ingenuity and boldness and lightness of the structure, and its dependence upon the piers alone for support, were often, in their utmost outline, carried to the very verge of the pillars and arches between which they were inserted, so that within their general surface, they required mullions and other lesser subdivisions, to afford for the framework which contained the glass, the strength necessary to its utility.

In order that these windows might in every manner more completely reach to, and fit in and harmonize with, arches and vaults now pointed, they were formed likewise in the same shape as, and to the same pitch with, the vaulting of the roof; and thus it was that the pointed, before only seen accidentally, and as a subordinate variety from the round arch, and neither the general foundation, nor even the consequence of a peculiar new system pervading the whole structure of edifices, now became universally and exclusively, not indeed the cause, but the consequence, of the new style of architecture.

Those bold horizontal projections of entablatures and cornices, which, in the pure Grecian architecture, produced such play of upright outlines, and such masses of transverse shadows, had become in a great measure obliterated in the rounded Lombard buildings; but in this new pointed style, the few members, and fasciæ, and mouldings, and other parts still permitted to retain that horizontal and transverse position, which the whole system tended to obliterate, if external, were for the purpose of avoiding all lodgment of snow; and, if internal, for that of obviating all unnecessary weight and pressure, made in their projection as shallow, and in their superior surface as much inclining downwards, as possible: and to crown all, in those edifices in which the system was carried to its utmost consistency and completion, the roof, for the high pitch of which all the parts underneath were calculated, was made as steep and sharp as all the supporting members.

As the habit of gazing on peculiar forms by degrees begets a taste for them, and as those which utility first demands, even when that utility ceases, still are perpetuated by the inclination it produces—as even consistency and taste require the ornamental additions to harmonize in their outline and character with the fundamental groundwork, those essential forms, all slender, and tall, and sharp; those long thin pillars; those narrow and lofty interstices; those pointed arches, re-duplicated laterally and over each other in endless repetitions, and intersecting each other in every way, were imitated and repeated, and carried to interminable



lesser and more minute subdivisions in the mere ornamental parts, until at last, religious edifices, with their pinnacles, and spires, and broaches, and cusps, and corbels, and tabernacles, and tracery, and ridge-bands, looked like a mass of network, or rather a cluster of mere conductors.

As in the seclusion of convents, mathematical science and mechanical combinations may advance, while art, especially of that sort which imitates and recombines the productions of nature, must experience an opposite and retrograde movement, not only the elegant arabesques, and interlacings which the Lombard style still retained from the antique, which was little suited to the meagre upright angular framings of the new style, were discarded: but even where the foundation, or history of the edifices, required for its illustration, in the porches or other parts of the front, representations of single human figures on a large scale; these figures, in order that they might be squeezed into the narrow bays and niches left between the pillars and mullions, were made so thin and wiredrawn, as to look like ghosts, or skeletons, or monsters; witness those in the porches of Rheims, Paris, or Chartres cathedrals; until, from the universal shaping of every part, this style of architecture seemed to admit of no exclusive appellation more appropriate and more descriptive of its grand general characteristic, than that of pointed; however much, in process of time, it was influenced by that common tendency of all human things, after they have laboriously reached their apex, again to decline on the reverse side; and after having at-

tained the greatest sharpness, at last, as if weak with old age and sinking, it exhibited a depression in its arches, and even a bulging downwards in the form of pendants, ere it was completely overthrown and dissolved.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE QUESTION OF THE PERSON BY WHOM, OR THE PLACE WHERE, THE POINTED ARCH WAS INVENTED, NOT TO BE SOLVED, AND OF NO IMPORTANCE TO THE GENERAL QUESTION OF THE INVENTION OF THE POINTED STYLE.

LONG after the decline of this new style, which, in its origin, excited an enthusiasm so universal, that, on its first appearance, every new building erected throughout the range of the Latin church was made to exhibit all its characteristics; and that even most of the old ones, finished in the Lombard, or rounded method, were, as far as feasible, altered to it; when it not only had expired, but even the very tradition respecting its origin was become obliterated, men began to wonder whence, where, at what time, and among whom, such a great change had originated; what were the causes, what the foundations, what the rudiments, who the authors and parents, of this universal pointing of Christian architecture.

Of these, many, only viewing its peculiar distinctive marks with a superficial glance; only struck with its singularity of external appearance, and overlooking that of internal principle, which was the prior cause

and foundation of the other, seem to have been intent on the mere investigation of one single of the many internal features of that style—namely, the pointed arch—in a manner insulated and exclusive, and out of that connection which this maintained with all the other equally essential characteristics, entirely changed from those of every other preceding architecture.

But the mere question, “Who invented the pointed arch?” taken thus separately, and out of its combination with the other modifications of the pointed style, is in itself a subject of no more interest than would be the ascertaining of the person who first invented the horse-shoe, or trefoil, or quatrefoil, or cinquefoil, or elliptic, depressed, or any other peculiarly shaped arch, equally in process of time, adopted in the pointed style; since, after the general abstract principle of the arch had been once introduced and brought into practice, the pointed modification of it might be formed out of the *dissecta membra* of the round, without the least new stretch of genius or invention, worth consideration, and might thence, in many different situations, from mere local circumstances of expediency, or whim, or even accident, be applied separately, and without any communication between the authors of the one and the other, so as to entitle each of these authors, alike to such merit as the invention might deserve. This seems, in fact, to have been the case; since we find that in churches, in other respects, round-headed, some arches, which were necessarily compressed, were pointed. Witness, at Paris, St. Germain des Près, whose nave and choir were finished before the death of

the Abbot Morand, their founder, in 1014, and whose choir, being the first part wanted, was doubtless, as in other churches, the first finished — the round east end is composed of five narrow pointed arches. The crypt of St. Denis, supposed by some to be of the time of Charlemagne, and at any rate preceding the era of the regular pointed architecture, contains arches compressed in their latitude, and pointed at their summit.

Nor would the mere question of when or how the mere pointed arch was invented, even if solved, avail us in ascertaining where or how originated the pointed style; since the fundamental characteristics of that style are independent of, lie deeper than that arch; and its employment is not the cause, but only the consequence, of these; since, as we have already shown, in many countries and in many ages, and long prior to the creation of the pointed style—in buildings not only of the earlier Lombard, but still earlier Byzantine, nay, still more primitive antique Roman style, the pointed arch had already appeared as an insulated feature, so situated, so intermixed with its round neighbours, that there could not be the least pretence for not considering it as coeval with these. Yet during the whole intervening lapse of time, we cannot discover the least approach to the really essential characteristics of that style, or even this particular feature considered in any other light than as an accident, or an expedient seldom employed, and still more seldom made conspicuous, but rather confined to remote or obscure recesses. Witness, in England itself, the ruins of the abbey of Malmesbury,

wholly built on the Lombard principle, where yet, between the round columns of the nave, and a triforium, or gallery of round arches, the arches supported by the former, and supporting the latter, are pointed. In France, as already observed, at Paris, the church of St. Germain des Près, of the date of 1014; at St. Denis, the cathedral; near Maçon, the abbey church of Chugny, rebuilt in 1093, and consecrated in 1134, whose aisles, composed of round columns, imitated from the Corinthian, are divided from the nave by pointed arches, though the church is, in all other respects, in the round or Lombard style. In Italy, at Venice, the lower parts of St. Mark, begun in 976, and finished in 1071, which have pointed arches intermixed with those that are round; at Pisa, the dome, begun and finished between 1016 and 1092, which, with a style in other respects rounded, presents its outer aisles formed of pointed arches; at Ancona, San Ciriaco, built towards the end of the tenth, or beginning of the eleventh century, wholly in the Greek style, but in which, a far-projecting portico, by a strange concert of its numerous concentric arches, displays that one pointed, which is smallest and innermost, while each more outward and larger enclosing arch becomes less so, until the last and outermost of all is a perfect semicircle. The four large arches, likewise, which support the ribbed central cupola, verge to a point, while the others of the nave are round. In the Papal states, in the monastery of Subiaco, restored in 847, is the cell of Santa Scolastica, whose pointed arches D'Agincourt considers as coeval with the primitive Lombard con-

struction. In Sicily, near Palermo, we find the palace of the Ziza, built by the Saracenic emirs, between the ninth and eleventh centuries, whose arches are, for the most part, pointed. At Jerusalem, in the chapel containing the monuments of Godefroi de Bouillon, and Baldwin his successor, the cross springers, and in the subterraneous chapel built over the tomb of the Virgin, the large arch at the entrance are pointed. At Cairo, in the hall of Youssuf, or of Saladin, the arches, resting on granite pillars, are similar. At Bourgas, the ancient Pyrgos, near Constantinople, in the aqueduct attributed to Justinian II., two tiers of large pointed, alternate with three of small round arches, and which, unless we suppose that the very Greeks, with all their pride and conceit, condescended to copy the architecture of the heretics and barbarians of the north, must needs be considered as indigenious. In every ancient Moham-medan city throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa, similar remains may be found in great numbers, dating from their first foundation : and even among the relics of pagan Rome, those of temples and baths, with polygonic cupolas, or groined vaults, in fact, present this feature, not to speak of those Byzantine mosaics of the earliest period, which, representing pointed arches, proved the reality to have existed ; or of those dyptics of the earlier part of the middle ages, preserved among the Christian antiquities of the Vatican Museum, which show both pointed and scalloped arches, or of a silver *thuribulum* or censer, seeming of the eighth or ninth century, in the same collection, which represents both trefoil and horse-shoe arches.

Indeed, from the early, the widely diffused, and yet unconnected appearance of the mere pointed arch, and at the same time the evident contempt in which it was held, as a thing which might be admissible, as an expedient, and in places of little consequence, but should be avoided where there was room for others; until that much later period when the peculiar properties of the pointed style caused it to be considered as an adjunct preferable to all others, the question of its origin would be as difficult to solve as it is unimportant.



## CHAPTER XXXIV.

## EXAMINATION OF VARIOUS CONJECTURES ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CHANGE FROM ROUND TO POINTED ARCHITECTURE, AND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE LATTER.

SOME persons, not limiting their enquiries to the pointed arch alone, but embracing, in their investigation, more of the various essential component parts, as connected with each other, have been anxious to discover the potent cause, which at once, throughout all the regions where reigned the Latin Church, combined together all those new features—some of which had before been invented, and partially used—into a system of architecture, new in its more important and fundamental elements, and in the uniformity of all its arbitrary and superficial superadded characteristics, different from, and exclusive of, every former style. This question is at once, from its nature, and the objects it embraces, of a much greater interest; and from the later and more definite period of the revolution of which it seeks to find the cause, more easily soluble.

Before, however, I attempt this task myself, I shall briefly state, among all the various opinions on the subject entertained by others, a few that seem the most striking and singular, with the reasons for their rejection.

Struck with the similarity which an avenue of trees presents to that boast and masterpiece of the pointed style, the naves and aisles of a vast cathedral of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, in their parallel rows of clustered and knotty pillars, whose lofty stalks ramify and spread out on all sides, whose ribs cross and interweave themselves with those arising from the other neighbouring pillars, into a series of pointed arches, showing the light through on every side, and terminating in luxuriant canopies, imitative of foliage, flowers, and buds;—admiring the resemblance to those majestic stems which arise at equal and measured distances, and whose branches meet and intertwine themselves with each other in dense vaultings of luxuriant foliage; and at the same time, little acquainted with the various successive stages by which the last and most refined pointed style gradually succeeded to and grew out of the prior and very different system that prevailed in Europe; the learned Warburton, and others after him, have derived its origin from the natural arbour formed by the stately trees of an ancient forest.

Still further misled by the vulgar appellation of Gothic, given in England exclusively to this style, and by the northern birth-place which this denomination seems to assign to it; and recollecting that the earliest priests recorded in the North—the Druids—were said to have performed their sacred rites in forests, and to have made ancient oaks their temples, and their sanctuaries; some have fancied, that among the Gothic nations, when converted to Christianity, some lingering fondness for their heathen customs, some wish still to

commemorate their pagan rites in their Christian worship, some desire to give to their laboriously constructed churches the form of the natural temples of their ancestors, caused the adoption of the pointed style; and have thence traced every most high-wrought detail of this architecture to the spontaneous developments of nature; and have regarded such wonderful productions as the minster of York, the cathedral of Rheims, and the domes of Strasburg and of Milan, as little more than mere fac-similes of those oak woods, in which Druids burnt their human victims in osier baskets.

A very recent author, without altogether adopting a derivation so very distant, has given to the pointed style an origin which bears a certain relation to it. He considers not the Gothic cathedral, with its fasciculated pillars, its intersecting ribs, its budding cusps, and finials, as imitated from trees still rooted in the ground, still in a state of the most entire and expansive life and vegetation; but only regards it as copied from primitive constructions of posts, and branches, and twigs, cut from the parent roots, but again planted in the ground, and interwoven together, which, from the sap still remaining in them, or newly drawn from the surrounding elements, have again put forth some fresh buds and leaves. If we wish to rest on a sufficient foundation, any supposition which attributes to one peculiar modification, its origin in another different from that which forms the subject of our conjecture, we must take care that the resemblance between what is supposed the offspring, and what is called the parent, should increase, in proportion as we retrace the pro-

gress of the one backwards, step by step, to its origin, in the latest developments of the other ; or, at least, should continue to show itself in a connected series of links intervening between the two ; but in this instance, the very reverse is the case.

If any peculiar modification of the pointed style can be said to present a very marked similitude to a grove of ancient trees, with their knotty trunks, their intervening branches, and their luxuriant foliage, it is precisely and exclusively that last and highest development, —which existed not until at least a thousand years after the last of the Druids had ceased to flourish,— which arose last, out of the rudiments of that pointed style itself, as well as out of the prior rounded style,— which, precisely by showing most evidently its connected descent from the earlier and simpler pointed, and the rounded architecture preceding that, proved itself not to arise immediately, or mediately, from any quarter not connected with these. Thence, as we ascend to the earlier modifications of the pointed, and from these, to those of the earlier Lombard and Roman styles (out of which we shall show all pointed forms to have proximately, or remotely arisen,) we find these latter to have existed universally for many centuries intervening between the beginning of this latter style and the extinction of the Pagan rites, and thus to form a complete barrier to any possible filiation between the forms of the one and of the other. We find the similitude with the supposed vegetable type, to diminish, until, in the prior genuine remains of the Druids themselves in England and in France, in the huge rude

blocks of stone near Salisbury—and in Brittany—precisely where the resemblance ought to be most palpable—we see it disappear so completely, that, arrived at this point, the supposed Druidic pedigree of the pointed style can only excite a smile. Warburton's idea, therefore, more worthy of a fanciful novelist than of a grave divine and critic, should be discarded by others, as it was ultimately by himself; and as the objections to the entire trees, with root and branch, of the English bishop, apply equally to the insulated posts and twigs of the Scotch baronet, we shall leave them to strike what roots, and put forth what shoots, they can.

Some persons, misled by a mere sound, have traced the pointed style, not, indeed, to the vegetable architecture of the Celtic, but to the stone edifices of the Gothic nations of the North: they have sought for prototypes, not among the earliest vestiges of England and France, but among those of the countries around the Baltic. The appellation of Gothic, bestowed upon this description of building, however, is no proof whatever of its origin, and has no reference to it. That name was first given to it in Italy, on the revival of the antique style; and when every other, intervening between the eras of that of imitation, and of the original ancient style, however much it might previously have been admired, came to be considered as barbarous; and when, for that reason, the appellation of Gothic, deemed to be synonymous with that of Barbarous, was therefore applied to each, whether pointed or round, alike; and was first bestowed upon it by the other nations who followed the taste of the

Italians, in imitation of them. As to other proofs, not of etymology, but of fact, they are still more conclusive against the genuine Gothic origin of the style so denominated. In the aboriginal regions of the Goths, in Sweden, and around the Baltic, where they lived in their earliest primitive state, so far from finding any such monuments of them, we discover none in any definite style of architecture whatever: we know that the first church, built in 1118, by St. Eric, at Upsala, on the ruins of the most celebrated temple of Odin, was erected, "*more Romano*," with round-headed arches, still to be seen in the remains; and that, not until 1278, a Frenchman, of the name of Bonneuil, designed the present cathedral in the pointed style, much resembling Notre Dame, at Paris.

The only Gothic king who seems to have had any taste for architecture, Theodoric, in his letter to Cassiodorus his minister, expresses the warmest admiration of, and wish to preserve, that which he found. And in Italy, where the Goths first acquired a certain degree of civilization; in the mausoleum, or funeral chapel, raised at Ravenna, by Amalasantha, to her father Theodoric, the first and only monument of importance which has pretensions to be really called Gothic; we observe a style, which, so far from offering the least approaches to the complicated vaulting and the light pointed finishings—in the squat massiveness of its cylindrical form, in the narrow openings of its loophole windows, and, above all, in the weight, and outline, and mode of construction of its cupola of one single piece of stone, thirty-four feet in diameter, and three feet and a half

thick, exclusive of its swell, and the gigantic rings, or loops, all round, of the same block as its body, which served to lift it into its place—rather resembles the Cyclopean, or that of Egypt, and has as little similitude with that called Gothic as can well be conceived.

When the origin of the pointed style ceased to be sought in the most remote regions of the North, it became, by a sudden recoil, as it were, of the excessive impulse, ascribed to countries, equally distant from us, to the South.

That, between the slight pillar ; the arch, sometimes pointed, sometimes scolloped, sometimes horse-shoed ; the vault variously intersected ; the long arcade and cloister ; or the cruciform distribution of certain Saracenic mosques and palaces, and certain Christian constructions of this description ; there is a striking resemblance—I should say, a certain family likeness—it is impossible to deny. It cannot, however, be disproved that this proceeds from the relationship existing between them, and their derivation from the same common parent. Founded on this resemblance, and on the circumstance that the general prevalence of the pointed style in Europe happened in a period little distant from that in which the crusades brought the Christians of the North and the Saracens in immediate and frequent contact, many have regarded the architecture of the Saracens as the model of that of Europe ; and the crusades, as the vehicle, through which the North of Europe became acquainted with, and the imitator of, those fashions. The architecture of York minster and Ulm cathedral is represented as a conquest

over the infidels, as much as the soil of the Holy Land itself: it is conjectured that we only sought, and fought, in their own distant dominions, the enemies of Christ, in order, on our return home, to introduce the taste of their mosques in his temples.

Definite proofs of this assertion are even recapitulated. According to French historians, Louis IX. took his architect, the famous Eudes de Montreuil, with him to Palestine, not, as might be supposed, for the purpose of erecting new Christian places of worship, but for that of learning, and on his return imitating, the Mohammedan method of the East: and the Sainte Chapelle, constructed by that artist at Paris, is quoted as one of the fruits of his voyage, though it is one of the buildings in the pointed style, which resembles that of the Saracens least; and though, even if it did, built, as it was, in the latter half of the thirteenth century, it had been preceded by so many other buildings of the same form at home, that it is folly to seek its model at such a distance.

Even were the theory which is here set forth (however ill supported by the examples alleged), in reality true, and well founded, still the pointed style of Europe would only be derived, in a somewhat more indirect and circuitous channel, from the same copious source, whence arises the prior round or Lombard style; and from which we shall show itself also to descend in a direct line — namely, from the Byzantine and the Roman system — since we have already shown that the Mohammedans of every denomination, borrowed their sacred architecture from Constantinople and from



Rome; and owed no part of it, connected with the arch and the cupola, to their own invention, or their indigenous soil.

In the first place, however, it seldom happens that men, even in more civilized eras, collected for a purpose of invasion and conquest, like the crusades, whatever be their means and station, bring back to their homes — particularly in an art so connected with every national idea, and habit as architecture — a taste for, and knowledge of, peculiar forms and principles, wholly different from their own, so universal, as to cause that general and sudden transition from the rounded to the pointed style, which we know to have taken place at a certain period throughout Europe. Though an English factory has so long subsisted at Canton, and though England possesses a larger territory in India than at home, we see not yet the architecture of China, or of the Moguls, on the British shore, with the exception of a few playthings of nabobs and kings. A cause more forcible, more deep, more connected, more peaceful, and more permanent, at once more minute in the detail, and more comprehensive in the extent of its operation, can alone account for such an effect.

In the second place, to grapple more directly with the subject, not only the several elements and forms peculiar to the pointed style, such as clustered columns, pointed arches, groined vaults, each taken individually and separately, as dispersed among different buildings; but the very combination of these, and of all the other essential component parts in single edifices, or in architectural wholes, from which all adornment and remains

of the previous rounded style were excluded, had already arisen in Europe previous to the return of the crusaders from those later expeditions, in which were engaged men of rank and opulence, who could be alone expected to bring back new modes of elegance and refinement, especially in an art whose luxuries were so much beyond the sphere of the lowly and the poor, as architecture.

I will not here repeat the names of those churches of which certain parts appeared to display resemblances with this later fashion, and yet to be coeval with their original foundation ; for, as I have already remarked, the presence alike of the pointed arch, unaccompanied by other features, proves nothing : but I may mention, in proof of my assertion, the cathedral of Chartres, consumed by fire in 1020, and rebuilt with such rapidity, that, 1028, the body of the church, transept, and choir, were finished, and considered as models of elegance in the pointed style—(*Journal Encyclopédique*) ; and at Treves, in Germany, the church of St. Simeon : and at Bamberg, those of St. Peter and St. George, both of the eleventh century, are pointed.

And thirdly, and lastly : even those modifications of the pointed, that are most similar to the Saracenic, still resemble it so much less than they do those of the earlier pointed, or the prior round and Lombard style ; which have no marked affinity to the architecture of the Moors, and arise out of their predecessors so gradually and progressively, in a manner so much more evident and connected than they appear to do out of the Saracenic method ; that of their affiliation,

the strongest and most palpable evidence appears to be clearly established, and to leave no plausible ground of belief in any other origin.

Some less fanciful people began at last to see that the new method had, in none of the regions in which it appeared almost simultaneously, been ascribed to an origin wholly foreign; and that it showed no similitude with any extraneous fashion, so palpable as it displayed with the rounded style preceding it at home; nay, that, in many instances, it appeared attached to, and growing out of the latter, and in many parts intermixed with it, ere it showed itself complete in unbroken and consistent masses. Hence they have really believed it not only to be indigenous in the countries where it arose, but positively to be a further progressive development and recombination of that rounded style itself, conceived by the very designers and constructors of the same, at a later period, and after having acquired greater architectural science; and these people have only continued to doubt from what part of the former systems the idea arose; and the preference was manifested for the introduction of a different method.

Some men, not deeply versed in architecture, and contenting themselves with a superficial notice of its external forms, having observed in the later edifices of the Lombards, those sham round-headed arches, and corbel tables, applied against walls, and under cornices, for mere ornaments, which, by their intersections, produced between them circular angles like those of these arches, have imagined that in these they laid their finger on the very source and fountain head of the

pointed style; that from such superficial pointings arose, not only the arches, but all the other peculiar subsequent modifications, exclusively belonging to the architecture known to us by the name of the Gothic. Dr. Milner has gone so far as to show, in the small church of St. Cross, near Winchester, built by Henry de Blois, brother to King Stephen, between 1132, and 1136, a range of such intersections, alternately superficial and perforated, as the prototype, not only of the pointed arch, but of every subsequent variation of the pointed style, throughout the most distant confines of the Christian world; forgetting, that in his example, the alternate perforations of these interlacings (a rather singular instance, unexampled elsewhere) appear more like an after-thought, an expedient for throwing light within, adapted to an already existing edifice, than the first model of a new system universally followed.

But, in the first place, if we could even admit architectural forms, so important and fundamental as arches, and all the others connected with them, to have derived any peculiar form, so universally as we see it adopted, out of a mere accidental combination, wholly unconnected with the purpose or principle of those arches and other parts; there still appears no particular reason for considering them as having derived this character from the occasional ornamental interlacings of semicircular mouldings in Lombard edifices, rather than from a thousand other intersections into a similar shape, which, in the architect's study, the mere use of the compasses might, in calculating the pressure, or in

trying the effect of circular arches, produce on his very paper : the contrary would be more probable.

And, in the second place, even if the peculiarities of the pointed style had arisen from the imitations of the Lombard interlacings, or from any other mere ornamental additions, before seen or conceived ; their progress and development would have been from the more superficial and ornamental modifications, to those more essential and fundamental : whereas we precisely see the reverse ; the essential and fundamental parts become universally pointed, while the merely ornamental still are Lombard ; the pointed reaches those parts last, which are merely decorative.

But, in the third and last place, though we admit that a peculiar fanciful modification, seen in one class of building, might be introduced and imitated occasionally and partially, and by way of variety, as a mere ornament, in another ; we cannot allow that those members of architecture which were of primary importance, and which were made to assume the pointed character, should have been thus modified, even in those parts which were least conspicuous, and should gradually have received such universal adoption, on so frivolous and slight a ground as the accidental effect of an ornamental combination unconnected with the essential purposes of the arch, or any other part of the building ; especially since, as we have already shown, the very arch itself, in the pointed form, had already existed as an insulated feature long previous even to these Lombard interlacings, and was consequently, of the two, much more calculated to produce its subse-

quent adoption, as a general modification, than a mere decorative addition, directly connected with no species of real arch whatever : yet, notwithstanding the greater probability, we have shown that the system of the pointed style cannot be deduced even from the pointed arch, since this latter had remained unprolific in many countries, and for many ages previous to that in which the architectural system, of which it formed a constant and consistent member, suddenly burst forth, and immediately became mature.

Were I disposed to found a new theory on a mere superficial resemblance, I might trace the last and most luxuriant efflorescence of the Gothic style, not to the barbarians of the North, but to the most anciently civilized nation of the South—indeed of the terraqueous globe—to that nation to which we naturally look for every art and science of which we cannot discover a later and nearer origin—to the Hindoos. A few miles north of Sadras, on the Coromandel coast, at a place called Maralipuram, are the ruins of two pagodas, of such antiquity as to bear inscriptions which the Hindoos themselves cannot expound, surmounted by coverings composed of two segments of circles, forming a complete pointed arch : or, if I wished to trace my architectonic pedigree to a country more classic than our northern wilds, and yet somewhat less remote than the Indian plains, I might quote, on the now almost deserted coast of Lycia, the thousands of sepulchral monuments, of an era apparently preceding its conquest by the Romans, and bearing Greek inscriptions, which, in the outline of their lids or roofs, equally

composed of two segments of circles, uniting in a point, bear a perfectly Gothic countenance; but however curious both be, from the peculiarity of that form, neither the pagodas on the Coromandel coast, nor the sarcophagi on that of Caramania, seem to have the least essential and fundamental form connected with any modification of what we call Gothic architecture.

Sir Christopher Wren, himself an architect, and thus seeing more deeply into the productions, at least, of his own art, attributed the change from the round to the pointed style, to a motive, which, if it was not more true and well founded, was at least more weighty, more consistent with the universality of the change, to the wish of rendering the construction of edifices very vast and lofty, less laborious, and less expensive.

First, by enabling arches of different widths to receive an equal height.

Secondly, by rendering a less unwieldy apparatus sufficient for arching, and enabling segments of the same circle to be employed for arches of different heights and widths, instead of requiring for each different diameter, a different circle.

Thirdly, by obviating the necessity of key-stones.

Fourthly, by causing stones so small to be required for the vaulting and superior parts, that a single man might carry each in a hod, on his back, up a ladder, to the highest point. But the purposes here set forth, required not pointed arches, and the constructors of them did not even avail themselves of the advantages supposed to be afforded by them; for in Greek and Lombard buildings, and in round-headed arches of dif-

ferent diameters, the prolongation of the perpendicular part of the impost, before it was turned into a semicircle, equally brought to a level the summit of the arch. In the construction of gigantic pointed arches, a vast apparatus still was indispensable. In them we generally find keystones, as well as in those round ; and though certainly the thin pillars, and slender ribs, and slight roofings of pointed edifices might, in general, require blocks of stone less large and less ponderous than any other style, they often demanded and displayed them very large. Witness the keystones of the vaulting of King's College Chapel, Cambridge. Certainly, where employed, they were hoisted up to a height unexampled in any other architecture. We may add, that the elaborate peculiarities of the new method seemed rather to be conceived for purposes of loftiness and of magnificence, than from motives of mere expediency, particularly where edifices, already finished in the rounded, were altered to the pointed, style.



## CHAPTER XXXV.

THE AUTHOR'S THEORY RESPECTING THE INVENTION  
AND ADOPTION OF POINTED ARCHITECTURE.

To me it appears most probable, that in those regions where snow falls thick, and lies long, the necessity of affording to numerous congregations, places of assembly ample and spacious,—temples, which consuming less solid materials, and presenting a lesser number, and a smaller bulk, of those masses of masonry which obstructed the vacant spaces,—should yet be covered by a roof sharp and lofty, calculated easily to throw off the wet, yet to weigh lightly on those parts of the building which supported it,—that the desire of obtaining these advantages, induced architects to resume the groined arch, known and used, as we have seen, by the heathen Romans, and in the first Christian basilicas, and subsequently discarded, in consequence of the facilities of construction afforded by the profusion of ancient columns which were at hand, and from the readiness with which a timber roof might supply the most urgent necessities,—a mode of building, which in Lombard edifices was again superseded by the heavy trunk-shaped vault.

Together with the groined vault, they reverted to the

use of the ribs and ridge bands of stone, which, forming a strong connected skeleton, enabled the interstices to be filled up with thinner integuments of lighter stuff; and adopted the method of composing the arches or ribs, carried along and across the nave and aisles at right angles with each other, and forming together the square; so that the two cross arches were framed of two sections of the same diagonal arch that separated the nave from the aisles, made to spring from the piers on which these diagonal arches rested; but instead of being carried at right angles with the side arches, made to cross each other, in such a manner that the impost of each rested not on the pier or pillar immediately opposite to it, but upon the next adjoining to that.

The natural consequence of this construction would be the formation of an arch pointed at the intersection of these two that were round. While the vault did not require much height, but rather lateral expanse, the arches thus crossing each other were made round, in order to give strength; but when more elevation was required, and more scientific knowledge could be commanded, the groined vault, assisted by piers and buttresses, was gradually developed, and grew into the pointed arch. In process of time, a desire arose to give to the jambs and apertures destined for doors and windows, an appearance corresponding to their tall and slender dimensions, and to the shape of the pointed arch; and the modifications which before had been but partially seen, grew into general favour and estimation.

Struck by the combination of strength and lightness,

loftiness and space, which this system afforded, artists began to follow up, from motives of elegance or vanity, that which had originated in causes of direct utility, and to make every support as slight and distant, every opening as high and as wide as possible.

For the sake of richness and harmony, the ribs, and ridge bands, and other parts forming the skeleton of the roof, were multiplied into the most complicated, and elegant, and bold tracery; the openings of the windows, into the most subtle and variegated mullions and ramifications; and the solid surfaces of the walls were covered with the most weblike tabernacle work.

The peculiar form acquired by the vault, produced in it a tendency to divaricate and to push outwards the perpendicular internal supports; and the oblique pressure applied to the upper parts of these came to be counteracted from below by a resistance equally oblique; in other words, by carrying each of the leading arches of the vault, partly within and partly without the enclosing wall, in the shapes of buttresses detaching themselves from the main body of the building, thence called flying, by means of which these arches were continued in one uninterrupted curve from the summit of the edifice, to the remotest point of the foundation. The whole was completed by the application of those weights in the shape of pinnacles, which, by their vertical pressure, confined the diverging tendency of the arches, and reduced within bounds more limited the resting places of their outward supports.

If this account of the views and motives whence arose the alterations from the Lombard to the pointed

style, — drawn from those peculiar internal as well as external characteristics, which essentially distinguish the latter from the former,—prove true and correct, — if only a difference of situation and climate produced those re-modifications from the Lombard, which form the essential characteristics of the pointed architecture, — we must acknowledge that the latter was super-structured upon, and arose, not out of a few mere arbitrary and ornamental shapes of the former, such as the interlacing of rounded arches and corbels, but out of the most universal principles of the rounded or Lombard style themselves, inasmuch as the arch, the vault, the groin — those essential ingredients of later architecture — already existed in the Lombard — were taken from it, — and only prove that the peculiar local exigencies of more northern climates, generated those further changes of form and subdivisions of parts, more directly adapted to the necessities and tastes of the countries in which that style was recomposed. In confirmation of our argument, we may remember that the same bodies of freemasons, who had designed and executed the former sacred buildings in the Lombard character, continued, under the influence of different latitudes and increased experience and science, to conceive and erect the new fabrics, as required by the taste of the later era. In short, we must allow that the latest pointed style, though resembling the interlacings of a gossamer web, the crystallization of the hoar frost in its most developed filigree form — in the total absence of strong and continued walls, and broad architraves, and lines extended horizontally, and ex-

panding forms ; and, on the contrary, remarkable for perpendicular supports carried to a vast height and thinness, for immense windows, for wide and lofty vacant spaces in its arching, complicated in its high roofs and spires, broaches, and pinnacles, all sharp and spiky ; as different as possible from the Greek in appearance ; yet, through a number of intervening links of the earlier pointed, and rounded, and Byzantine, and ancient Roman styles, ultimately in a direct line and order of filiation, finds its origin in that ancient and primitive Greek architecture itself.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

A BRIEF EXAMINATION OF VARIOUS CONJECTURES AS TO THE COUNTRY IN WHICH POINTED ARCHITECTURE ORIGINATED.

HAVING thus endeavoured to ascertain the modifications, the materials, the womb out of which the pointed style, thus introduced, first derived its origin, we have only to enquire, first, among what people first arose; secondly, in what country earliest prevailed, that fashion, which, in a short space of time, between the middle and end of the twelfth century, showed itself almost universally throughout Europe; and whether it was in a region whose soil and climate possessed the peculiarities likely to have produced the modifications above described. To the first question, we must answer that it can only have originated among some of the religious orders, or among some of the freemasons who were, during those ages, in the exclusive possession of the knowledge of designing and executing sacred edifices for these communities, or for the Latin church in general; and as even the monastic bodies often contained men from different countries, and the different lodges of freemasons in particular were composed of natives of every region acknowledg-

ing the church of Rome ; as, consequently, the exact parents cannot be ascertained, even though the precise birth-place should be discovered ; or, rather, as the pointed style cannot be said to arise from individual parents belonging to a particular country, but, wherever its first specimens arose, still is nothing but the offspring of a congregate body formed of men and minds produced by various countries ; the enquiry, unlike that of the invention of other useful objects, is one less of national pride than of mere curiosity.

Many have expected to answer the second question — to ascertain where the pointed style first arose — by ascertaining the place where existed its most ancient specimens ; have thought that the discovery of the country where are found the earliest instances of each feature, must necessarily decide the question of the place of their first birth ; and thence has sprung not only a great anxiety to ascertain the relative priority of age of different edifices in different countries, but much partiality as to the statements of the comparative dates, and much acrimony in the disputes with regard to their correctness.

Thus the Chevalier Wiebeking, of Munich, dates in Germany the commencement, in the pointed style, of the cathedral of Naumburg, before the end of the tenth century ; of that of Minden, in 1009 ; three churches at Hildesheim, from 1022 to 1024 ; of the cathedrals of Goslar, in 1040 ; of Hildesheim, as in 1054 ; and of Osnaburg, in 1101 ; of the church of St. Michel, at Bamberg, in 1171 ; and of the cathedrals of Schwerin, Brandenburg, and Dobberar, as in

1170 :— dates so early, that they require strong proof to be received.

Thus French historians state the cathedral of Coutance, in France, in the most perfect pointed style, to have been begun in that style under the episcopacy of Robert, elected to the see in 1025 ; and to have been completely finished in 1050. While the pointed arches in St. Germain des Prés are regarded as having been finished before the year of Abbé Moraud's death ; and those of the crypt of St. Dennis as being of the time of Charlemagne.

Thus, in Spain, the pointed style is said to have been introduced in the cathedrals of Leon and Lugo, by San Domingo della Calsada, in the first quarter of the twelfth century.

Thus, Milner adduces in the church of St. Cross, near Winchester, before mentioned, certain intersections of rounded arches, of which a part has been cut out so as to leave apertures that let in light, as members of the original building, and as the types of the pointed style ; though others, again, maintain that their cutting out is evidently a thing not contemplated by the designer, nor in the regular process of that sort of ornament, but an expedient of a later date, to procure light ; while others, again, assert that, whether original or of a posterior era, it has nothing to do with the essential and exclusive principles of the pointed style.

Thus, in the baptistery of Pisa, built in 1152, by Dioti Salvi, the pointed finials have first been adduced as marking the commencement of the pointed style ; next have been stated, by Milner and Englefield, to be



an addition of a later age, and consequently not conclusive; and lastly, by a minute inspection of the works, and above all by the original designs found in the archives of Pisa, proved to have been part of those original designs. Thus, the drawings of a church at Messina, in the finest pointed manner, attributed to Roger Earl of Sicily, in the eleventh century, were laid before the Society of Antiquaries, to prove the early use of the pointed style: thus, the pointed arches in the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem are traced to the repairs made in 1049, after the dilapidations of the Saracens; and thus, among the champions of the several countries, much of mutual contradiction has elicited but little satisfactory information.

But even when the date of the erection, not merely of an edifice in general, but of the peculiar part from which we infer the priority of this style, can be irrefragably ascertained; as, for instance, it can in the cloisters of San Zenone at Verona, where the pointed and the rounded arches are so connected, and so similar in style and materials, as evidently to prove their being coeval; and where, on that part of them which forms the lavatory of the monks, is seen the original inscription, stating these cloisters to have been restored by Abbot Gaudeo in 1123 (Maffei;) that date can only prove a priority of execution of individual specimens, but cannot prove the conception to have arisen in that country; since, in the first place, from the close connection and constant intercourse throughout Europe, of the individual members and subdivided lodges of that corporation of freemasons,

which possessed the exclusive privilege of erecting churches, the first exemplification of a new system and theory might arise in a country very different from that in which its conception took place ; and, in the next place, it is most difficult to ascertain the respective priority of different edifices, in a style which spread so rapidly, that, in the course of little more than a quarter of a century, it had filled almost every country in Europe with a multitude of specimens. Indeed, of the foundation of many of the principal buildings no credible records can be obtained ; because, even of many of those of whose first foundation the era is proved, the progress was so slow, that the parts evidently conceived in and marking the era of the pointed style may have been posterior to this foundation by entire centuries ; and because, of many edifices, not only begun, but entirely finished, in the Lombard, many parts have been since altered to pointed architecture, in such a way as to appear parts of the original design, and to mislead us completely as to the date of their execution.

Thus, in general, we should much less depend upon the means of ascertaining the birth-place, derived from the comparative dates of its specimens, such as we can obtain, than upon the inferences drawn from the appearance, tendency, and internal qualities, of the new modifications.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

INQUIRY INTO THE CLAIMS OF ENGLAND TO THE  
INVENTION OF POINTED ARCHITECTURE.

SOME truly loyal and patriotic spirits, either thinking, like Milner, that they had found, in England, a combination of peculiar forms and dates conclusive as to the English birth of the pointed style ; or tired of having knocked at the door of every continental nation for its authors, without any where receiving a satisfactory answer ; have at last fearlessly asserted as their own, what every stranger seemed alike to abandon ; have boldly pronounced the pointed architecture as wholly and purely indigenous in England ; and have themselves drawn, or at least left it to others to draw, as a necessary inference of this first position, that all the continental nations, among whom this architecture has been found in specimens much more numerous and more magnificent than in England, from the shores of the Baltic to those of the Mediterranean, and from the heart of Sweden to the extremities of Spain, have taken their model from England. And so general has this idea of late become, that those who assented not to it, who, from historical records, or from what they had seen abroad, had been led to doubt the assertion,

were almost accused of want of patriotism and public spirit—of preferring the honour and credit of foreigners, to that of their own countrymen.

If this idea had been well founded, England would have exhibited the first examples of that style, equally in its earliest and simplest modifications, and in its latest most complicated developments. It would probably have produced ramifications which other countries show not ; it certainly would have been deficient in none of those which other countries display. If this assertion had been capable of proof, the principal architects of the first, and even of the later edifices, would, in all likelihood, have been Englishmen, even out of England.

Since an art of utility, and even of necessity, like architecture, is derived from the wants and nature of the country in which it originates, in its manner of meeting these it always displays with them a striking analogy, and in its leading component features, a remarkable harmony and consistency with each other : thence it is to be supposed that this style, if indigenous in England, would have manifested these conditions in a peculiar degree. It evidently would not possess them in a less extent than certain other countries ; it would not exhibit a discordance of some component parts with the exigences of the climate, or with the form and principle of other parts, which foreign specimens do not betray.

Nay, as the arbitrary and ornamental expansions and developments of each art in particular, will and must bear to those of other and distinct arts, a most striking

resemblance, in proportion as they are all derived from the same source, and directed by the same taste, the embellishments of pointed architecture in England should offer an analogy much more striking than in any other country, with the characteristic decorative modifications of contemporary painting, sculpture, miniature, and written characters.

Now, the very reverse of all this is the case: without entering into a detailed and minute description of the comparative dates of the earliest specimens of the pointed style in general, and of each of its different later successive developments, in England and abroad, which is never conclusive; because, in the first place, it was, by the same body of freemasons who had carried the Lombard style to distant countries, disseminated universally with such rapidity, that its adoption in every different land appears almost simultaneous, and that the slight differences of date in this respect, can hardly be ascertained with sufficient exactness to establish any grounded inference as to its prior channels, and fountain head; because, in the second place, of the foundation of individual buildings, the date is often entirely wanting, or, where it is recorded, is often followed by that of their completion, at such a distance of time that it still leaves us in difficulty to determine the age of each peculiar part; and because, in the last place, even after buildings were completely finished, prodigious alterations, in a new and later style, have been made, of which the era cannot be determined. It must be evident to all who have had an opportunity of comparing the different principal species of pointed edifices, in all the

various countries possessing such, and are not blinded by national prejudice; first, that of the features of this style, such as clustered columns, pointed arches, groined vaults, taken each insulatedly and separately, and unconnected in a single complete system, the Continent affords much earlier specimens; witness the clustered columns in San Michele at Pavia, the pointed arches in the abbey church of Clugny, the dome of Pisa, and the Moorish Castle of the Ziza; and the ground vault in the baths of Diocletian, and the Temple of Peace of pagan Rome: secondly, that of these different parts connected in one general consistent system, and wholly void of all admixture with features of the round style, France and Germany especially offer examples, each in its peculiar sort, earlier than those in England: that, on the contrary, England, so far from affording the first, almost always exhibited the last specimens of every new modification introduced in the pointed style: that while England cannot show a single peculiarity, of which some earlier instance may not be shown abroad; many of the later variations which arose, in Italy, Germany, France, or the Netherlands, never reached the British shore: that England has no cathedral, in the pointed style, approaching in width those of Antwerp, Paris, Cologne, and Milan; in height, those of Amiens, Beauvais, Paris, and Rheims; in richness of decoration, those of Amiens, Rheims, Ratisbon, and Como: can offer no parallels to the towers of Utrecht, Antwerp, Mechlin, Ulm, Friburg, and Vienna; for height of the entrance, to Strasburg, and Toul, and Ratisbon; for filigree

delicacy of overspreading network, to the choirs of Beauvais, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Bordeaux ; for lantern lightness within, and boldness of flying buttresses without, to the cathedrals of Antwerp, Paris, Rheims, Milan, and many others ; for majesty of the double aisles circulating all round the nave, transepts, and sanctuary, to those of Paris, Chartres, Amiens, and Rheims ; for height, width, depth, number, or size of figures, to the spires of Autun, Friburg, Bordeaux, and Strasburg ; for elegant adornment or open work tracery, to the naves of St. Ouen at Rouen, and of Notre Dame at Dijon ; for general symmetry and perfection, to the cathedrals of Rouen, Sens, Paris, Bruges, Tours, Rheims, Strasburg, and Como ; for the size and elegance of their marigold windows, in the front and transepts, to Rheims and Como : for magnificence of canopied pillars, to the Exchange at Antwerp, to the Kaufhaus, destroyed in the revolution, at Mayence ; and to numberless houses in the cities and châteaux in the country, in France and Germany, for elegance of civil architecture. The western front of York might stand under the roofs of the choirs of Beauvais, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cologne ; the tower of the Dome of Vienna pyramidizes gradually from its very base, and shows every higher, growing insensibly and connectedly out of every lower part ; and the porch of the Dome of Ratisbon offers, for convenience, double entrances at right angles to each other ; and the church of St. Macloud at Rouen has a bowed front of three arches to suit its position at the juncture of two streets ; that of Notre Dame at Dijon displays a deep open ves-

tibule ; the cathedral of Vienne in Dauphiné possesses a stately terrace and broad flight of steps ; the church of St. Petronius at Bologna has angular windows, of which one half appear in front, and the other half are folded over on the sides ; and the little bijou of the Madonna della Spina at Pisa, and the church of Santa Maria in Strata at Monza,\* exhibit the richest pointed work, executed in brick. The façades of many of the palaces at Venice,† where the arches curl and grow into roses, and form entire open screens in front of the rooms ; and the pillars of the cathedral of Milan, of which large statues in niches form the capitals ; and the whole of that last pointed continental style, seen in the town-hall of Ghent, ‡ the Grande Chambre at Rouen, and the steeple at Ulm, in which arches and ribs are made to imitate the twistings of vine branches and tendrils, and many other peculiarities of the pointed style in different parts of the Continent, too numerous to detail, have nothing of the same description to match them in England.

Indeed, our sacred edifices, which, like the cathedrals of York, Lincoln, Wells, Winchester, Worcester, Gloucester, Lichfield, Westminster, and others, show the beauties of the pointed style most conspicuously, if analysed, will be found to display its elegancies in detached parts, not only unconnected with, but discordant from, the style of other parts, and which indicate the ideas for them to have been borrowed piecemeal from other quarters, rather than in that grand accordance of all the parts and unity of the whole which mark an indi-

\* Plate LXXX.

† Plate LXXVII.

‡ Plate LXXVIII.



genous original conception, from which every detail flows alike, as from the same copious source, such as may be seen in the more celebrated edifices in the pointed style in France, Germany, and Italy; those of Abbeville, St. Omer, Amiens, Beauvais, Rouen, Paris, Rheims, Chartres, Bourges, Bordeaux, Dijon, Toul, Strasburg, Cologne, Ulm, Ratisbon, and Milan. In England, in most of the pointed churches, the low roofs and gable ends; and in most of the pointed steeples, the square summits, and still more, the obelisk spires, clapped on them as a separate appendage, that might equally be added or not, and appear nothing more than an afterthought, independent of, and long after added to, the original design, are all modifications, evidently, unfit for a country liable to heavy snow falls, and borrowed from some other, differently circumstanced regions. Less harmonizing with, less spontaneously and insensibly growing out of, a substructure and vaulting, narrow, sharp, elongated, and aspiring, by which they are supported, and upon which they rise, they appear as parts borrowed from a country different from that where these arches themselves arose; they do not show the design of these buildings as in their whole conceived on the spot where they stand, such as in Germany, those immense cathedrals, whose roofs,—and those stupendous steeples, whose summits—like those of Strasburg, Cologne, Frankfort, Ulm, Ratisbon, and Vienna,—seem, from the very foundation of the building, to have been considered as integral parts of the design, to grow out of the very base, and to begin that pyramidizing which is only to

end at their highest apex. Finally, whatever remarkable specimens of the pointed style England may possess in that art, which is one of necessity—architecture, stand insulated, unconnected with, unresembled, unconfirmed, in the originality they claim, by any body of specimens in the other arts of elegance less indispensable, such as sculpture, painting, miniature, and manuscript writing, all in the same peculiar style, all alike notoriously indigenous, offering the same characteristics, evidently proceeding from the same abundant source, the same school, which are calculated to prove, through the analogy, the equally native source of that architecture. All these, on the other hand, France in some degree, Germany in a more remarkable manner, displays.

And do not the builders of the English sacred edifices, as much as the buildings themselves, prove that their architecture originated not in England. From the time when the Italian monk, St. Augustine, brought to England, with the Roman faith, the Roman architecture; and from that, when Alfred called from abroad Grymbald to build the crypt of Canterbury cathedral; or from that, when Edward the Confessor brought with him from France, where he resided till his elevation to the throne of England, French predilections, French taste, and French designs, wholly new, for his Abbey of Westminster; and, above all, from that, when William the Conqueror poured in from Normandy, upon the British shore, his Norman prelates and builders, by wholesale,—when a Masericius, a Lanfranc, a Robert de Blois, a Remi de Fécamp, a

Guillaume de Sens, a Robert de Losenge, and other Frenchmen innumerable, pulled down and rebuilt all the largest and finest English cathedrals ; until, as it were, the ultimate extinction of the pointed style, all the architects whose names have been handed down to posterity were foreigners. Even the builder of the very last and finest of our pointed monuments, King's College Chapel, Cambridge, is said to have been a German, of the name of Klaus or Kloos. And if we remember what has been said of the composition of the body of freemasons, how early and how long their influence prevailed in England, and consider that only in Henry VI.'s time their exclusive privileges were taken from them, as derogatory to the power of British kings, and injurious to the interests of British subjects ; we must infer that among the working class of artificers, a still greater number came from abroad. Some, indeed, will say, that, if the French first introduced the pointed architecture in England, the English subsequently, at least, returned the gift, by carrying it back into France in an improved state ; will quote the vulgar belief of the French themselves, that all the fine pointed churches built in Guienne, and the other western provinces of France, while possessed by the English kings, were designed by English architects : but, in the first place, many of the English kings themselves, were French by birth or by descent ; in the second place, in the cities of France occupied by the English, not only the arts were still exercised by the French, but the municipal offices were retained by them ; the bodies secular and ecclesiastical were governed by native principals ; the

designers of sacred edifices were, as elsewhere, taken from among the ecclesiastics of the country and of the community for which the formation was destined. The English, who undertook not those sacred edifices, who bore not the expense of them, who in small numbers occupied an insecure position, were constantly disturbed, and frequently expelled, who in their own country showed no preference for their own architects, can by no rule of probability be supposed to have employed these in France, where finer pointed churches exist than any we possess.

Thus England can on no grounds whatever, claim the conception of the pointed style, as a grand whole, connected, and harmonizing in all its parts; we shall even see that it is perhaps among the countries which adopted it, one of the farthest removed from its source; one of those which admitted it last, and which displayed it with less vastness, and less variety, as must be notorious to all those who have travelled in France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and Spain, and have seen the magnificent monuments that fill most of these countries; and have heard of those others, no longer existing, which graced them before their revolutions civil and religious.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

## INQUIRY INTO THE CLAIMS OF FRANCE AND ITALY.

NORMANDY, as it displayed of the round or Lombard, so it also exhibited of the pointed character, grand specimens somewhat earlier than England; and indeed, was instrumental in the erection, in England, of many fine buildings of the latter, as well as of the former, fashion; and thence, by the same rule by which some have called the rounded, others have called the pointed style Norman; and have, on the strength of that denomination, fancied it really to have originated in Normandy. This, however, is only retracing one more of the steps through which pointed architecture reached us, and leaving a much greater number still unexplored in their rear. France seems to me only to have a claim to an earlier adoption, to a grander display of the pointed style, than England, but none to its original invention.

Is, then, Italy the country where lingered last the antique style, and where it first revived; which, during the interval between the former and the latter of these periods, is, in general, considered as that which preserved most of the arts already invented, and gave birth to most of those which were new—Italy, where arose

incontestably the round style of architecture, which preceded, which was the parent of, the pointed; where, already, even among the rounded, appear the earliest insulated features of that pointed; whence originated those freemasons who, as they had designed and executed the round, also conceived and constructed the pointed style itself;—the country where, out of all these intervening links, that pointed, taken as a whole new system, consistent in all its parts, likewise arose?

The inclination we feel to look back to Italy for the origin of every modern art of elegance induces us to say, Yes; but truth demands that we should say, No.

For, in the first place, and to reason merely from probability, most parts of Italy continued, during the middle ages, to preserve and to offer such antique models of beauty in a style of architecture wholly different from the pointed, as to check the imagination of builders from their too erratic propensities, and to restrain them to such similitude with these as their inferior skill permitted; and, even in these models, in the shape of columns, architraves, &c., afforded beautiful materials for their new erections, of which they could only avail themselves, by adhering, in a certain degree, in their recomposition, to the ancient, or at least Lombard, style, and permitted not their constructions to be wire-drawn into the length and tenuity of the pointed style. Thence we see, in the cathedrals of Palermo and of Monreale, the beautiful marble columns retain their antique shape, though forced to carry pointed arches.

And, in the next place, to argue from actual fact,

from experience, however much Italy may already, in the very midst of its rounded edifices, have shown the first insulated and detached features of the pointed style ; yet, in all those districts exempt from ultramontane influence, authority, rulers, or architects, it may be said always to have retained, even in those eras when the north adopted the pointed style without reserve, for the prior rounded architecture, that predilection which a parent feels for his own offspring ; never to have abandoned it entirely for the new system, even in those edifices of which the more superficial parts were finished in compliance with the new fashion ; never to have exhibited that fashion universally, and without the least remaining relic of the rounded, as in the north ; nay, unless in parts and edifices designed under German influence, and by German architects, to have engrafted on the more early, and fundamental, and indigenous rounded style, the pointed, so awkwardly and inconsistently as even more than in England to make it appear a mere adoption from elsewhere, and not a native of the country ; finally, to have been the first to abandon that stranger, which it had only partially and reluctantly adopted, in order to revert to the antique style.

At Pavia, the palace, called of the Lombard kings, but probably built by the later dukes, shows, over a ground tier of pointed, a middle story of round arches, similar to those of the Campo Santo at Pisa, again containing within them lesser pointed arches. At Verona, the cloisters of San Zenone, built in 1123, show two sides round, and two pointed.

At Pisa, in the dome, and the baptistery, the latter built, according to Vasari, in 1061, but rebuilt in 1153, on the designs of Dioti Salvi, the pointed style grows out of the round, so partially, as to have given room for asserting that the pointed part was only a much later superstructure. In the same city, the small church of Santa Maria della Spina has rounded arches, though terminating in the richest pointed pediments and pinnacles; the Campo Santo, or cloisters of the Cemetery, constructed in the thirteenth century, on the designs of John of Pisa; and at Florence, the church of San Michele\*, have round arches, but filled with, and occasionally separated by, pointed tracery, and tabernacle work of the most elegant and delicate description. At Sienna, the Dome, one of the most celebrated churches in the Italian pointed style, has its lower arches round, and those alone pointed which are uppermost. In the Roman states, the famous church of Orvieto is similar. Even in the Dome of Padua, † in the Palazzo Pubblico of Pavia, evidently erected long after the pointed style had acquired its utmost delicacy, and in the town halls of Piacenza ‡, of Como ||, and others, pointed arches, and tracery of the most delicate sort, are intermixed with round arches and Lombard ornaments: nay, in the perhaps too much admired cathedrals of Sienna, of Orvieto, of Poligno, and of Monza §, even the high-pitched pediments, so far from growing connectedly out of the body of the front, and from fitting to the ends of the roof, are mere walls, or screens,

\* Plate LXXIX.

† Plate LXVII.

‡ Plate XXIV.

|| Plate LVII.

§ Plate LXXX.



that without any use or purpose, rise, unsupported, far above the summit of the building.

So impatient, indeed, were the thorough-bred Italians, even after they had sanctioned the pointed style, to return to the round, that, as early as the middle of the fourteenth century, Andrea Orcagna, by building the immense arches of the Loggia dei Lanzi at Florence with round heads, attracted, as Vasari states, great admiration; and that soon after, Brunelleschi, though he terminated Santa Maria del Fiore in a sort of pointed style, the manner in which it had been commenced, in the churches he built from the ground, reverted entirely to the antique.

In fact, in Italy, no edifices, or other objects, show the pointed style in its northern completeness, except a few in the Lombard provinces, where German influence prevailed; and in the Neapolitan states which obeyed Norman princes, or in other parts of the country, in which they were designed by foreigners from the north.

The cathedral of Milan, in every part that was completed previous to the revival of the antique, to which its front fell a sacrifice, one of the first specimens of the pure pointed style, was, as Cæsaranius, the first commentator on Vitruvius, expressly declares, designed and constructed by German artists, and according to the *maniera Tedesca*. The Dome of Assisi, finished in 1218, entirely in the pointed style, is ascribed to an architect called William the German. At the other extremity of the Italian states, a church at Naples; the Dome at Palermo; and at Monreale, the famous cathe-

dral, built in 1177, under King William II., all pointed, all rose alike under Norman or Angevin princes; in-  
somuch, that at Naples, and in Sicily, as in England,  
from a somewhat similar reason, and because the  
pointed style was considered as having been introduced  
there by the Normans, or the princes of the Anjou race,  
or at least during their reign, it has been called the  
Norman or the French style. Even at Rome, if we  
find several ciboria in the pointed style, the first and  
finest of these, that which in 1290 Pope Boniface VIII.  
placed over the altar of old St. Peter's, and which has  
been thrown aside in the Sacre Grotte of the new basi-  
lica, is described by Ciampini as a *ciborium cuspidatum  
Germani operis, cujus architectus fuit quidam  
Arnulphus*.

In fact, except Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, and Mu-  
ratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. iii. p. 269, who state, that  
no Goths or Germans introduced any sort of architec-  
ture, or other art, in Italy, and therefore must consent  
to father the Gothic style of that country, however much  
abused by their countrymen, the Italians themselves,  
so far from resembling the English in claiming the  
credit of having invented the pointed style, not only  
call it Gothic, which with them is synonymous with  
barbarous, but *Gotico Tedesco*, as if to cast far from  
themselves, by fixing it upon a strange and ultramon-  
tane nation, all the guilt of the barbarism. Vasari  
not only calls this architecture a curse, but at the same  
time, as well as Cæsarianus, on every occasion, styles  
its manner the *maniera Tedesca*, and its productions  
*lavori Tedeschi*.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

## INQUIRY INTO THE CLAIMS OF GERMANY.

I HAVE already mentioned a German author, the Chevalier Wiebeking of Munich, who, in support of the claims of his countrymen to the introduction of this description of forms, which he attributes to St. Bernard, Bishop of Hildesheim, ascribes the foundation of many of the principal pointed churches of Germany to eras so much earlier than any we can quote elsewhere, that, supposing these to be genuine, the priority, the invention, of the pointed style in Germany is proved, and we have nothing further to say on that score.

Even supposing, however, that doubts should remain respecting the authenticity of these dates, it is to be remembered that, next to Italy, Germany was, in the middle ages, the country where the feuds between the great vassals and the Emperor, their chief, earliest enabled a great number of cities—become powerful through industry and commerce—to liberate themselves from the tyranny of the former; to hold only by a slight tie of allegiance, directly from the latter; and to acquire, under the title of Free Imperial cities, together with internal independence, and a voice and influence in the Germanic body, a constantly progressive deve-

lopment of that industry, such, that the Germans are the nation of Europe, who, since the ancients, or at least out of Italy, have most signalized themselves by inventions which materially influenced the fate of man, in peace and in war ; as that of watches, gunpowder, printing, copper-plate engraving, and by some also it is added, painting in oils—though it seems more probable that this was already practised at Constantinople, during the middle ages, but only applied by its natives within the narrow sphere of compositions allowed by their bigotry, and that the invention of the art was attributed to the Germans, because they were the first, not only to borrow it from the Greeks, but to display it in a more varied and extensive school of painting.

In the free, industrious, and opulent cities of Germany it became, as it had been before in those of Italy, the fashion for the different trades, each to form themselves into corporations, gifted by the sovereign, with exclusive immunities and privileges ; and in Germany, as in Italy, the masons and builders were among the foremost to aggregate themselves into such bodies ; while, from the same causes peculiar to architecture, in Germany, as in Italy, those societies of free-masons did not confine themselves, like others, to peculiar cities, but went about tendering their services, and sitting down, for a time, wherever these were wanted or acceptable, to erect the works required.

Throughout all ages, the Germans and the Lombards displayed ideas and tastes very different, proceeding from the difference of their origin, climate, and mode of life ; but in consequence of being, in a

great measure, ruled by the same sovereign, and brought into frequent contact, a jealousy and rivalry ensued, which German artists and corporations manifested, even in those things which they borrowed from the Italians, by giving to them an exterior form and modification wholly new and different.

Thence, about the middle of the twelfth century, they changed the written character of the Italians, which still maintained, with the appellation of Lombard, or Franco-Gallic, a round and flexible form, into a character composed of rigid perpendicular lines, connected by sharp cusps, angles, and pediments, like those displayed in the pointed style of architecture, and which, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, attained its fullest bloom and perfection, in a maze of intricate and useless lines and tracery.

This new species of character seems to have been with great difficulty and very partially, introduced by them in Italy. It may be now and then found in the states of Lombardy which obeyed the German emperors : but, at Rome, I only know one inscription of this kind engraved on stone ; it is in Latin, over the entrance of the cortile that precedes the ancient church of the Quattro Santi Incoronati, and states that Martin the Fifth, elected Pope in 1417, restored that fabric. It was by the Italians distinguished by the name of the German letter ; and afterwards, when every thing was made to revert to an imitation of the antique, in common with the prior Lombard character, and whatever partook of the taste of the middle ages, branded with the epithet of *Gothic*, or barbarous.

Among the nations of Northern Europe, it met, like the pure pointed style in architecture, with more success; all those that acknowledge kindred with the German race, adopted it, only in a somewhat soberer shape, and with less luxuriance or confusion of cusps and crotchets, until, in most of these, in the sixteenth century, the black letter again became superseded by the Latin and the Italian character. As to the Germans themselves, their parental love for this crabbed offspring of theirs, has made them retain it to this hour, to the great perplexity of strangers who should wish to make out a German epistle, or to study German literature.

The Germans, moreover, were the first among the nations of the North who had a school of painting, carving, chasing, engraving, and miniature, of their own; and, in a manner, the only nation who, in the productions of each of those arts alike, showed a particular fondness for the introduction of that same peculiar species of ornamental forms which we find in the pointed architecture and the pointed character. So fond were they of combining them in all their different modifications in a single composition, that, generally, in their painting, we see representations of the pointed architecture; and that both their pictures and their sculpture are commonly intermixed with labels, offering, in moral or religious sentences, their pointed characters.

These peculiarities of the Germans, being facts, and the invention of the pointed style of architecture (considered as a peculiar system, connected in all its parts,)

belonging evidently as little to the Italians, as to the other nations hitherto named as claimants of it, I believe it to be the property of the Germans; because, in the first place, they would, with their priority relative to other Northern nations in respect to the arts, and the *jalousie de métier* of the Italian artists, seek, alike from interest and from vanity — from the desire equally to increase their fame, and their custom among other nations—to differ from, to improve upon, the Italian free-masons, in the skill and boldness of their constructions — to strike out a new path; and this the more, since neither on their own soil, nor in those other Northern regions where their talents and services were chiefly in request, they found, like their Italian predecessors, ancient materials to employ, whose dimensions and whose forms might check the aberration of their taste and the exuberance of their fancy.

Because, in the second place, in Germany, and in Germany alone, the more celebrated structures in the pointed style, whether churches — such as the cathedrals of Cologne, Strasburg, Ulm, and Ratisbon; or steeples—as Cologne, Friburg, Frankfort, Ulm, Mechlin, and Vienna—offer, in all their different component parts, piers, buttresses, pillars, arches, vaults, roofs, spires, and pinnacles, from the lowest foundation to the highest superstructure, in a degree unequalled elsewhere, a compactness, consistency, and harmony with each other; a gradual growth of the higher out of the lower, and pyramidizing; an intention, announced from the base, and fulfilled to the summit, of making every part tall, and sharp, and aspiring alike: proving that,

even before the first and lowest was commenced, the size, and form, and weight, and pressure of the loftiest and last must have been calculated.

Because, in the third place, in Germany, and in Germany alone, the more celebrated structures in the pointed style, whether churches or steeples, not only possess, in all their component parts, a harmony with, and adaptation to each other; but, moreover, in all these component parts, both low and high alike, through their uniform spiryness and sharpness, manifest a peculiar fitness for a climate exposed to heavy snow-falls, that require to be prevented from resting upon, and weighing down their coverings, and are better contrived to obviate this inconvenience, than the pointed edifices of any other country.

Because, in the fourth place, in Germany arose, in the pointed style, not only religious structures, but other edifices for civil or domestic purposes, more grand and perfect, and varied, than in any other country; — witness, at Nuremburg, the town-hall; at Mayence, a beautiful Kaufhaus, demolished in 1812; and in imperial and other cities, numerous private habitations of the utmost elegance.

Because, in the fifth place, in Germany, and in Germany alone, we have, among the archives of chapters, found actual working drawings of edifices erected, or to be erected, on such a scale, and so complete and minute, as to prove that on the spot, and among the local lodges of freemasons, existed, as well the head that invented, as the hand that executed those monuments.

Because, in the sixth place, in Germany, and in



Germany alone, both in some of the latest edifices executed, and in those drawings of later buildings still intended, we see the pointed style developed in new forms, imitative of the twistings of vine tendrils, of which England and Italy show no specimens; of which France and the Netherlands only show approximations — as in the town-halls of Rouen, of Ghent,\* and others, which Turner calls the Burgundian style; but of which the only perfect specimens are to be found in German edifices, as shown in the designs edited by Möller.

Because, in the seventh place, in Germany, the perfecting of the style of pointed architecture was so much valued, that we even find the lodge of free-masons of Strasburg honoured for the building of its cathedral, by being placed at the head of all those of Germany, first in 1458, by an act passed by those lodges themselves at Ratisbon; and next in 1498, by a confirmation of that act, passed at Strasburg, by the Emperor Maximilian I.

Because, in the eighth place, in Germany, and in Germany alone, at the era when the pointed style showed itself in architecture, it showed itself equally, and in a manner much corresponding, in the productions of the other fine arts — of sculpture, of chasing, of modelling, of painting, of miniature, and even of the pen and the press; it filled these equally with the perpendicular staves, and sharp angles, and multifarious cusps, and pinnacles, analogous to those of edifices in the pointed style; it showed itself universally, even in

\* Plates LXXVIII. LXXXI. LXXXII.

those pictorial compositions where it set both costume and chronology the most at defiance; and gave most incontrovertible testimony that it was not a fashion imitated from elsewhere, but one proceeding, in all these arts, alike from the same copious native source — the taste and fashion of the German artists themselves.

Because, ninthly, from Germany alone, the pointed style flowed to, and was introduced in, Italy; since in that country, nearly all the edifices and monuments, in the purest Gothic style, are either in the provinces that were under German rule, or expressly described as having been designed by Germans; witness the cathedral of Milan, the church at Assisi, and the altar of the Prince of Apostles, in the first basilica of Christendom, in the very heart of Rome. While in the early Italian scriptural compositions we always see the round, in those of the Germans we always see the pointed arch.

And because, tenthly and lastly, not only the Italians, in general, call the pointed style German, and regard it as such, but their very authors and artists describe it as having been introduced among them from Germany: witness Vasari, who, while calling it a curse brought from Germany, allows that this curse over-ran all Italy; and Cæsarianus, who expressly states, that those particular features of the pointed style — the rounded ribs of groins — were, in the twelfth century, substituted for those previously flat, by Germans: all which does not prevent Muratori and Maffei from being right in some respects, in stating that no German ever introduced any sort of architecture in Italy: since

the edifices they executed seem to have been designed for their own use, and since the Italians displayed, in the few churches that they constructed after this fashion, no specimens of the pure pointed style, but only an incomplete imitation, as at Orvieto, and Sienna.

## CHAPTER XL.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF SOME DEVELOPMENTS OF THE  
POINTED STYLE, RELIGIOUS AND CIVIC.

HAVING thus stated at length those which appear to me to be the *causes*, the *fundamental* characteristics, and the native country of the pointed style, I shall now proceed to give, of its successive developments in different ages and countries, not a detailed account (which would exceed my plan), but a succinct sketch.

Though the fundamental characteristics of the pointed architecture have been shown to spring from an European source, and probably to have arisen anterior to the crusades; and though I have combated, I hope successfully, the opinion of those who would make it out an importation from the East in the holy wars, yet, by causing those who feared to encounter the toils and dangers of these campaigns, to make atonement for their backwardness; and those who returned from them safe in life and limb, to mark their gratitude to Providence, by building or endowing churches; and those who wanted money to equip themselves for the expensive journey, to sell their estates, at a cheap rate, to the religious establishments already existing; these crusades may be said to have greatly promoted the speedy and

general dissemination of this new style of construction.

Such was, indeed, the rapidity of its extension in the country where crusades were first imagined and undertaken, that, if France does not, like Germany, boast of having founded huge cathedrals in the pointed style, even before the first crusade, we see them follow close upon it. Already, in 1140, the *portail* of St. Denis rose, restored by Abbot Suger, in the pointed style; in 1149, was begun the magnificent cathedral of Cambay; in 1170, Hildward built in that style the celebrated cathedral of Chartres; in 1172, Hugo, third Duke of Burgundy, erected at Dijon the Sainte Chapelle—a model of pointed elegance, destroyed in the Revolution; while the handsome pointed cathedrals of Laon, Soissons, and other cities in that latitude, date from the same era. Indeed, in a very distant part of Europe, under the influence of Norman sovereigns, the pointed style advanced with equal rapidity; so that, not to speak of the pointed cathedral at Messina, attributed to Roger, second Earl of Sicily, whose accession took place in 1101; at Palermo, under King William II., or the Good, crowned in 1166, arose that stupendous monument in the pointed style, now pulled down, the Madre Chiesa; and a little after, in 1177, at Monreale, the equally grand pointed church of St. Martin, where sleep the Norman kings, in tombs resembling ancient sarcophagi. Even in England, the choir and east end of Canterbury Cathedral destroyed by fire in 1174), built by the French architect, William of Sens, became soon after the

first specimen of pointed architecture on the British shore.

Naturally, the first specimens of the pointed, deviated less from those of the round style, than did those which arose later. They still, like most of the Lombard fabrics, presented their columns single; and, where obliged to resort to arched or far-projecting buttresses, hid them within the roof of the aisles. Having abandoned the rich arabesques, and other ornamental sculpture of the Lombards, either from the inferior skill of Northern artists, or as less compatible with the abrupt and angular forms introduced; and not having acquired a new ornamental system of their own, better adapted to their characteristic peculiarities; they labour under a poverty of decoration, witnessed neither in the prior Lombard buildings, nor in the later developments of the pointed architecture itself. Yet must it be confessed, we seldom see, on the Continent, in Germany or in France, large churches, even in the earliest and simplest Gothic style, so wholly naked and destitute of all ornament as the English fabric of Salisbury Cathedral; whether from a greater love of adornment, or the possession of more practised sculptors, the foreign church architects launched out into a luxuriance of decoration much sooner, as they carried it much farther.

In Gelnhausen, in Franconia, once an imperial city of note, where the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa built a palace, rises a cathedral,\* attributed to the first half of the twelfth century, which in the pointed arches of

\* Plate XXXI.—LIX.

its nave, supporting round-headed windows,—in the polygonic steeples that rise above its roof,—in the mixture of lancet, round-headed, and trefoil arches surrounding its east end, all apparently of the same era,—appears to me most fairly to exhibit the transition style, which partakes in equal halves of the round and the pointed.

But a taste for ornament more varied and minute soon made its appearance : and among those who do not derive from the crusades and the Eastern regions the fundamental principles of the pointed style, many still fancy that, in the year 1100, in the first crusade, the semi-barbarous warriors of the North, when they first poured into Constantinople, not singly or in small troops, but in the shape of an immense army, and there witnessed architectural splendours, of whose existence they had no idea, and for whose description they possessed no words ; and afterwards saw the same magnificence repeated in the cities of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt ; and, returned home (as many did) by the Italian sea-ports in Venice and Pisa, built after the Byzantine fashion ; acquired, in their long pilgrimage abroad, that taste for ornament, and that predilection for the peculiar style of decoration, which their buildings afterwards displayed at home. The idea seems to receive some confirmation, from the circumstance that St. Louis afterwards took with him to the Holy Land, his architect, Eudes de Montreuil, who, on his return to France, signalized himself by the refectory of St. Germain des Prés, and the universally admired Sainte Chapelle of Paris ; and from the custom of the Italians,

who, not content with calling the pointed style, *Stile Tedesco*, by a singular approximation of the names of nations most distant, called the more florid developments of that style, *Gotico-Arabo*.

But wherever ease, leisure, and opulence go on gradually increasing, as they did in the monasteries of the middle ages, a taste for luxury and for ornament will insinuate themselves, among those that stay at home, as among those that go abroad; and in the pointed style, all the later essential characteristic ornaments flow so insensibly and gradually out of its first elementary principles, as to prove, by internal evidence, their origin from the same indigenous source.

The pillars, at first distinct, but close to each other, employed to support, at different heights, different arches, ribs, and cross-springers shooting forth from them towards different points, suggested the idea, when for strength they were conglomerated into one single cohering mass, of still giving to that body the appearance of a bundle of separate staves and stalks, even more numerous and slim than before, each branching out, or continued into some one of those arches, or ribs, or springers, also more multiplied and subdivided, whereby the real addition of strength obtained might yet be combined with greater apparent lightness. The arches, and ribs, and cross-springers themselves shooting forth from the pillars to different points, for the support of the roof, and the ridge plates that again branched from these to connect and to steady them, gave the appearance of a multiplication of these members more minute, more variously diverging, converg-



ing, and intersecting each other, for the sake of mere ornament, till they grew into all the richest and most complicated combinations, of tracery and of arching that covers the walls, fills the windows, and the Catherine wheels, twines into screens, balustrades, and the buttresses; forms corbels and canopies; under the name of tabernacle-work, adorns the surface; and under that of fan-work, is woven round the groins of the richest Gothic edifices.

The apertures of former architectural styles, widened and multiplied; the supports, lengthened and compressed; the vast masses, made to hover in air with but slight stays on earth; by the very principle of the pointed style, even where it appeared in its soberest and most subdued shape, suggested the idea of still increasing the surprise produced by these circumstances by doing away with every remains of solid wall that could be dispensed with; trusting for support to the pillars alone; so situating those pillars that their angles only should face each other and the spectators, and their sides should fly away from the eye in a diagonal line; subdividing every surface that could not be entirely suppressed, into such a number of parts, or perforating it so variously and so ingeniously as to make it light as a film, or transparent as a gauze; and increasing to the utmost the width of every window and the height of every vault.

The number of arches, all pointed, and the curious intersections of their curves (produced by the groins), and the complicated plan of Gothic edifices, suggested the idea of creating forms and combinations still more

varied and complex, by subdividing their sweep into trefoils, and quatrefoils, and other curious scollopings; by making their bend, where feasible, in imitation of the ogive moulding, after showing a convex, exhibit a concave line, and after turning down, incline upwards; or finally, as we see them in some of the latest buildings in France, Germany, and Belgium, from their very base, curl up; or, in order that the arch should be as elevated at the sides, as spreading in the centre, as expansive throughout as possible, by raising its haunches according to what abroad is called the Burgundian, and in England the Tudor fashion, so as barely to leave in the centre a perceptible point, until at last, as in some pointed buildings in Germany and France, according to a fashion never, I believe, adopted in England at all, the point became entirely obliterated in a single unbroken elliptical sweep; and by a return of the circle to its original starting point, the arch was reduced, even previous to the restoration of the antique style, to a single curve from side to side. Cross springers were even sent down from their highest apex ere they reached their point of intersection; and made to re-approach the ground in drops, without any direct support whatever, suspended and hovering over the heads of the living community, as canopies were made to surmount statues of saints in stone and marble. Lastly, the arches and pediments, and gables, and gables, and roofs and spires, and pinnacles and broaches, every where multiplied, and every where sharpened to the utmost, fomenting the taste for the meagre, the angular, and the broken, gave the idea of repeating these

dispositions in every ornamental modification in which they were less useful, until every piece of architecture, stationary or moveable, from the cathedral to the stall and the foot-stool, looked like a bundle of faggots, or a mass of conductors.

I shall now, among these successive changes and developments experienced by the pointed style, notice a few only of those most important.

The round pillars, first preserved from the Lombard, in the pointed style, offering singly, to the sharp ribs into which they were destined at different heights to grow, an imperfect transition and a slight analogy; and even when clustered, affording less strength than the assemblage might do in a single continuous mass; were gradually re-transformed from such a cluster into a single pillar, square, divided into as many staves or stems as were necessary to grow and be continued into the destined number of ribs and springers over them: and these square pillars were, both for the purpose of better bearing the ribs and springers over them, and of meeting the eye less with their full mass and dimensions, made to face each other with their angles instead of their sides, so that the latter should fly in an oblique line from the sight: and of the deep porches and consequent massy and projecting piers, the sides were likewise chamfered outwards, in order that the opening should show a rich perspective of pillars, arches, and statues; the pier, a light and narrow surface.

The slender, high, sharp window, called the lancet window, was, where it found sufficient room, and stood in triplets, melted, as it were, into a single much wider

window, reaching on the sides to the pillars, and at the top to the arch; and when thus become too wide to contain a surface of glass undivided, was divided into lesser bays by slender mullions, often stayed at different heights by transverse bars or elegant tracery, and subdivided at their top into lesser arches or interweavings.

The arches, at first only composed of two curves meeting in a point, in places where it was compatible with the requisite strength, were divided into lesser curves, so as to form trefoils, quatrefoils, cinquefoils, and others; or instead of remaining concave, curled up ere they met; or at their spring received a convex curvature—as we see some in the front of the Town-house of Ghent;\* in that of the Palais de Justice of Rouen; in the finishings intended for the steeple of Mechlin; in those executed in that of Milan; and in several designs in Möller's work on German architecture.

Of arches which overhang wide areas, and which as well as those of the intervening windows, from having a high pitch, and a sharp point, received an obtuse summit, were seen what I believe to be some of the earliest specimens displayed at Dijon, in the Charreuse, built by the first Duke of Burgundy, destroyed at the Revolution; and they have since, under the Tudors, been much imitated in England; and at last, the obliteration of the slight remaining point occurred, in that elliptic curve which, at Dijon (at that time a part of Burgundy), appeared in the choir of the Charreuse, erected in 1383; in France, in the edifices

\* Plate LXXVIII.

built during the reigns of Charles VIII. and Louis XII.; at Melun, in the principal church; at Rouen, in the Hôtel du Seigneur de Bourgtheroulde, begun in 1486, and in other houses of the same town, standing; at the Château de Blois, in the part built by Louis XII., at Vienne, in Dauphiné; round the terrace of the cathedral at Valence; in a private house in the principal street; and in the houses of several German cities, represented by Möller. And the pediments over external arches, experienced in their curves the same changes and developments.

In the earliest pointed buildings, the vaulting, less bold, less extending its supports outwards, permitted even those buttresses, which, to a certain degree, detached themselves from the perpendicular supports, or the wall, to remain concealed under the roof of the arches; but when, afterwards, the greater boldness of the interior structure obliged them to offer more extension,—like the bird which has outgrown its shell, and which, breaking it, bursts forth into sight with all its limbs distinct,—they pierced through the roof, and, from an unacknowledged expedient, were turned into an ornament, and decorated with all the minuter embellishments which the pointed style afforded.

The superior spread near the ground, and the gradual contraction and pyramidizing, as they rose higher, of the indispensable arches, and buttresses, and pinnacles, and roofs; the way in which the higher of these parts seemed not only to rest upon, but to grow out of the lower, arising from the very fundamental principles of the pointed style; suggested the idea of still increas-

ing this effect, beyond the necessity of the case, for the sake of ornament. Naves and choirs, from showing roofs and summits of a certain extension, were made at last to appear (like the portals of Rheims and Friburg, and the choirs of Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, and Strasburg) to grow, by a gradual diminution, into a mere point or bud: and steeples, from displaying first the very top, a square truncated tube, covered by a low roof; next, a base, and body, carrying a spire higher, lighter, and sharper, but still added as a distinct cap or finishing, were at last (like those of Vienna, Ratisbon, Ulm, Cologne, Strasburg, Autun, and Chartres, Mechlin, Antwerp, and Brussels), by a succession of arches, and buttresses, and pinnacles, gradually receding behind each other to the top, constructed as if shooting up through a vegetative force to their very summits.

The superior lightness and openness, which the very fundamental principles of the pointed style imparted to its members, gave the idea of afterwards increasing it, for the sake of beauty, by casting (as in the front of Strasburg, and in the choir of Gloucester cathedrals) over the parts that must necessarily remain solid, at some distance from their surface, a net-work of mullions, arches, ribs, stays, and tracery, so delicate as to look like a lace veil thrown over the person, or a gossamer tangled round a bush; and by weaving—as in the marygold windows, and the finished steeples of the same churches, and in those of the church of Openheim, and in the various details of Ulm and Toul cathedrals, and Henry the Seventh's chapel in Westminster, Abbey—round those parts that might, in some

degree, remain open, such as windows, Catherine wheels, balustrades, and spires, a similar net-work, so fine, as to appear a mere filigree ornament : and though certainly the essential parts,—the pillars, the arches, the ribs, the groins, the cross springers, and the ridge plates,—did not derive, from the imitation of trees planted in an avenue or quincunx, their more essential forms, it is probable that the similarity which they gradually, but incidentally acquired to trees thus disposed, gave the idea of completing the resemblance in the ornamental additions, not only by dotting every pediment and pinnacle with crockets and finials in the shape of buds, and by filling every arch with tracery like the foliage, but, as was practised in the last and most florid German style, by twisting the lighter arches and ribs themselves, so as to look like the stalks of the woodbine, or the tendrils of the vine.

While, amid the general obscurity of the middle ages, the mechanical and scientific part of architecture had improved, the imitative arts progressively declined. In Lombard edifices are still beheld most elegant arabesques and scrolls, &c. ; but in the Gothic, the acanthus degenerates into a cabbage, and the human form into a monster, void of flesh, and ghastly ; and the living and the dead, angels and devils, seem cast in the same mould. Indeed, indecency is combined with horror ; for the sake of satirizing rival orders, the very stall in which the Deity was hymned, were made to show man's most vicious propensities, to which, in these days of greater propriety, dust and cobwebs often afford a welcome veil.

The representation of scriptural and historical subjects in sculpture was continued; nay, as by degrees, ludicrous and grotesque processions had crept into the Latin church, and become customary at certain festivals—such as the feast of fools during Carnival; these were often carved on the stalls of the choir. Saints, sovereigns, and other historical personages, were placed on brackets, in long ranges, between the shafts that divided the splay of the porches; and it was deemed no objection, that in the curve of the arch they were necessarily laid on their sides, instead of standing upright; and when these figures were of a large size, rather than that the niches, or cells, should depart from the general rule of the style, by having a proportionate width, the figures were made so narrow and lank, as to look like overgrown monstrosities.

One ornament, which, by degrees, formed a very considerable feature among those of the pointed style, was derived clearly and notoriously from the crusades alone; namely, armorial bearings. When these insignia, invented in the holy wars, and placed on the shields and helmets of the leaders, in order that they might be recognised by their followers in life and in death, had been rendered illustrious by the feats and heroism of their wearers, and had become proofs of an honourable pedigree in their descendants, their successors, no longer satisfied with hanging them in reality, or in effigy, in their halls and habitations, displayed them round their tombs and funeral chapels; and the temple of the God of Peace became studded with the monuments,



not only of the private feuds of the clergy, but of the public warfare of the laity.

Besides these general changes, the fancy of the peculiar architect, or the circumstances of the peculiar church, caused it to display features of a more local description. Open winding staircases, carried to the very summit of the spires, seem to have been in great request in the countries through which flows the Rhine. There is one in the steeple of St. Kilien, at Heilbron; one in that of the cathedral of Studtgard; and one, apparently quite aërial, at each of the four corners of the noble steeple at Strasburg.

Several churches in France,—such, among others, that of St. Nicolas, in the town of that name, near Nancy; that of St. Etienne du Mont, at Paris; even that of St. Denis,—offer a singularity which some have thought to proceed from inadvertence, and others from design—a twist or deviation in their length from the straight line. It is, in some instances, too obvious and marked, to be laid to the score of inadvertence; and as, on every day but two in the year, the sun rises somewhat to the right or left of the East end, and the front was turned due West, we may suppose the churches dedicated to peculiar saints, to have had their sanctuaries directed to the point at which, on the peculiar day of their festival, the sun rose, in order that his first rays might strike their altar.

Situations, however, of marked irregularity, have sometimes been the cause of corresponding irregularities, in the forms of Gothic churches.

I speak not of the advanced porch of the cathedral

of Ratisbon, whose entrance presents a pier between two archways, at right angles with each other ; nor of St. Macloud, at Rouen, whose porch, of three arches, is bowed, to afford a readier entrance from converging streets ; nor of St. Ouen, of the same city, whose twin towers, placed diagonally with the anterior angles of church which they flank, were intended to have had between them a similar porch on a grander scale. These may be considered as beauties, and the latter are so in reality : but in the church at Milan, built on a very uneven piece of ground, the nave alone is regular, while the double aisles, in order to tally with the surrounding streets, at one end spread and divide, and at the other, in part, dwindle away to nothing.

Indeed, after explaining the principle, and allowing to pointed architecture all the merit, which is due to a great degree of science and ingenuity, we should not dissemble that, in its very nature, it had within it a less permanent solidity, a more active internal source of decay, than those where the pressure was, from absence of arches, all perpendicular — or, where, as these were all round-headed, it was much less oblique ; and that moreover, its architects, from the wish to astound the vulgar, and to excel their rivals, by the height, lightness, boldness, and absence of direct internal support in their buildings, often abused the resources which they possessed ; so that, from internal weakness, many buildings could never be completed on the original plan ; and others, after having attained their full height, have only shone an instant, and then, like a child's edifice of cards, have fallen to pieces ; and

thus the dotage of age has resembled the imbecility of infancy.

In Belgium perhaps, the very flatness of the country, and the means of thus making elevated objects conspicuous from a greater distance, afforded an additional incentive to the ambition of giving to steeples an excessive height: that of Mechlin, begun in 1452, is, in its finished state, 348 French feet in height, and was to have been one-third higher; the finished tower of the cathedral of Antwerp, completed in 1518, measures 466 French feet; and the tower of the principal church of Utrecht, built in 1321, by Bishop Frederic de Syrck, measures 388 feet.

The choir part, in which the service was performed, being the most necessary, was in general built first; and has often — as at Aix, at Cologne, at Beauvais— been the only part completed: though sometimes, where the choir was peculiarly venerated from its antiquity—as at Strasburg—a new nave has been added; and as, where two huge steeples were intended to flank the front, one only was necessary, and was built with the nave, the other has remained unfinished—as at Strasburg, at Auxerre, and in many other places.

At Chartres and at Tours, the two steeples of the cathedral, built at different periods, are finished, but in different styles.

Sometimes churches were, from their peculiar situation, made to assume the character of fortresses. This was the case at Loretto, with that which contains the Santa Casa: so, likewise, at Caen, near the shores of

the Atlantic, the abbey church of St. Etienne, built by William the Conqueror, bore the twofold and singularly combined character of a nunnery and a citadel.

The states of Lombardy, and the other adjacent Italian republics, early began to show industry and public spirit, and to acquire opulence, power, and a municipal government; and thence early required, in addition to their religious edifices, fabrics of a civil nature, such as town-houses, corporation halls, &c., of a certain importance: these arose, while still the rounded style continued to reign, and showed some degree of elegance in that very architecture. But north of the Alps, while this style prevailed, feudal lords still reigned paramount: the little industry, and trade, and manufactures, and banking business, carried on in them, was exercised, in their very heart, by strangers from Italy, known only by the generic appellation of Lombards; and civil honours, municipal governments, and places for magistrates and merchants to meet in state, were not requisite, and existed not. On this side of the Alps, while the Lombard style prevailed, churches and monasteries were the only edifices in which the founders sought architectural elegance.

It was not thus when the pointed style began to be extended. About the middle of the thirteenth century, the commercial spirit had awakened in the North, and was earliest aroused in Germany. The cities, first on the Rhine, and next in the more inland and northern provinces of that vast empire, had become, through industry, arts, and commerce, sufficiently powerful to

shake off the yoke of their feudal lords ; and under a nominal allegiance to the chief of that empire alone, and with the title of Free Imperial Cities, each had made itself an independent state. Those that traded with a northern sea, scarce known by name beyond the Alps, the Baltic—Hamburg, and Lubeck—had found it necessary to form, against the Danish and Norman pirates who infested that sea, a league called the Hanseatic League ; and to this, by degrees, acceded all the other trading cities of Germany, as far south as Cologne. This league now began to divide with the Lombard settlers throughout the kingdoms of the Continent, and even in England, the trade of Europe. It made Bruges, and successively the other principal cities of the Netherlands, the emporiums where thenceforward its members met the Lombard merchants, and exchanged with them the produce of the North for that of the South. Each of these cities, following the example of those on the other side of the Alps, as it rose in activity, in opulence, and in dignity, took a pride in rearing, in addition to its sumptuous cathedral, halls as magnificent for its magistrates and merchants to meet in a body, and even fine houses, for their habitations as individuals. In each, next to the cathedral, the town-house, the merchants' hall, the halls of the different guilds or corporations, and the houses of the principal magistrates and merchants, show successive gradations of size and elegance : and it is curious to see with what degree of precision, the date, which in each of the great commercial cities of Germany and Belgium is borne — and the style of architecture,

which is shown—by each of these different constructions, coincides with that in which their trade, power, dignity, and influence attained its highest acmé. After the great cities of Lombardy, and of the Italian states on the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, the imperial cities of Germany show town-halls and commercial edifices of the most ancient date, and in the most ancient style of architecture : next to these come those of Belgium, in the order in which they superseded each other ; first Bruges,\* next Ghent,† next Antwerp. Those of Holland, especially Amsterdam, are the last. In Germany, the style of each is the pure pointed. In Belgium, a sort of cinque-cento, or transition from that to the antique. In Holland, such an attempt at the antique as might be expected in that most recent of states.

Even in this country, at the era when the pointed style acquired prevalence, the feudal lords, no longer in a constant state of warfare with each other, and with their sovereign, no longer obliged to build solely for strength and defence, began in their castles to show some fondness for the arts of peace as well as of war ; to seek some decoration externally as well as internally : and in Germany and in France, there are castles both of sovereigns and of private individuals, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, that display externally, every resource, every elegance of architecture : witness, in the former, that of Heidelberg ; and in the latter, those of Blois and Chambord ; not to mention the elegant châteaux of Nantes, of Pau ; of Jaques Cœur,

\* Plate LXXXVIII. LXXXIX. .† Plate LXXVIII.

at Bourges ; of Montigny le Ganeton, entre Eure et Loire ; and of Fontaine le Henry, near Caen.

Thence the pointed architecture acquired space for the development of its beauties, and applied its characteristics to a variety of edifices, far beyond what the rounded had ever found : and though in England, where industry and the arts only began to flourish, as it began to decline, an idea has prevailed, that it had been displayed in all its purity and perfection in churches and monasteries alone ; that it never was found, in all its developments, in civil, and still less in domestic structures : the old cities of Germany, France, and the Low Countries show the contrary ; at Nuremberg, at Louvain, at Brussels,\* the town-halls are among the most elegant buildings in the pointed style ; and at Mayence, the ancient Kaufhaus, destroyed in the Revolution, was ; and at Antwerp the Exchange ; † and at Andernach, ‡ the very crane and weigh-house of the city ; and at Cologne the entrance of the Rheinhof, § are models of elegance in the pointed style ; while in many cities on the Baltic, at Dantzic, at Lubeck, at Hamburg, and in many others on the Rhine, nay, on the very Rhone, high narrow city houses, with gable ends squeezed in between their neighbours, exhibit there all the resources and refinements of the pointed style.

\* Plate LXXXI.

† Plate LXXXII.

‡ Plate LXXXIII.

§ Plate LXIV.

## CHAPTER XLI.

DIFFUSION OF THE POINTED STYLE THROUGH FRANCE,  
ENGLAND, SPAIN, PORTUGAL, AND ITALY.

THE country whose vital force first produced the pointed architecture—Germany, (and in the Middle Ages that appellation included a great part of the present France, as Alsace, Lorraine, while part of the Low Countries, Franche-Compté, and Burgundy, formed an independent dukedom, as much connected with Germany as France,) was also that where it displayed the largest monuments, the longest duration, and the most varied developments. The cathedrals of Cologne, Ratisbon, Strasburg, Ulm, and Friburg, were commenced on a scale, and with those of Vienna, Oppenheim, Oberwesel, and others, are finished in a style, unequalled elsewhere: and when, in some countries, the pointed architecture, scarce ever flourishing, began to pine away; when, in England, Henry VI. bereft its chief parents and propagators, the freemasons, of all their privileges, the German Emperor Maximilian still bestowed on those of Strasburg new honours, as a reward for their skill and performances.

France, the nearest neighbour to Germany, seems also first to have received from her, and soonest to



have rivalled her in, the pointed style. Indeed, in France, as in Germany, so gigantic were many of the plans in this style, that they have only been executed in part. Rheims, indeed, is entirely terminated; but at Amiens, the towers have not reached their intended height; at Tours and Chartres they are uneven; Auxerre has but one, of two that were intended; Beauvais possesses no nave, Abbeville no choir, and St. Ouen no front. And, alas! of several of those most beautifully terminated, the iconoclasts of Belgium and of France — the first Protestants and Huguenots — again destroyed all the beautiful imagery, and other embellishments within and without; and the revolutionists have since levelled many more with the ground.

From Germany and from France the pointed style was progressively wafted over to England; but, as the distance from the fountain head was greater, so likewise was the period of its appearance somewhat more remote; insomuch that, not only of its first dawn, but of all its later developments, examples somewhat earlier can be quoted in Germany, and even in France, than in England. The cathedral of Rheims exhibits refinements of which England, at that time, had no idea: the cathedral of Amiens, built in 1220, shows a range of wide and elegant windows, a row of flying buttresses in their full expansion, and a front of deep porches, covered with statuary, and surmounted by a splendid rose, when the cathedral of Salisbury, begun exactly in the same year, only displays plain lancet windows; still hides its arched buttresses within the roof of the aisles, and is disfigured by a front heavy and poor in

the extreme : and the Sainte Chapelle, at Paris, consecrated in 1248, already exhibits all that aërial lightness, and that luxuriance, at that time, in England, first beginning to bud.

Indeed, even Italy seems, in the ornamental parts of the pointed style, to have had the start of England, if it be true that those ogee arches and pediments, which we see at Venice, in St. Mark's, and at Pisa, in the baptistery, only made their appearance here, as Dr. Milner asserts, under Edward III.

When once kindled, however, the zeal for pointing seems to have become full as fervent in England as elsewhere. The arches of the old churches in the rounded style were split, their vaults torn asunder, their strength and solidity destroyed, to be remodelled after the new fashion : those half finished in the Lombard style, were terminated in the pointed ; and new edifices were frequently erected on purpose to display it. Thus, the church at Dunstable shows the round and the pointed arch, only separated by the diaper work impressed upon its piers ; Canterbury, whose transepts still are round, is lengthened out into a pointed nave ; Peterborough bears, before a body and nave entirely round, a pointed mask or screen ; in Ely the round and the pointed are variously intermixed ; while Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, Lichfield, York, and many others, are entirely pointed, and on a smaller scale than abroad. It must, however, be owned that England can boast of some very elegant specimens ; that the Sainte Chapelle at Paris, and the beautiful chapel of Vincennes, are fully equalled by Henry VII.'s chapel at West-

minster, by St. George's chapel at Windsor, and by that which, under Henry VI., the German Klaus or Kloos designed for King's College at Cambridge. I cannot, indeed, bestow any praise upon the mongrel style of Roslin chapel near Edinburgh. Indeed, even among our churches, there are some, such as the abbey church of Bath, built in 1500, which show great singularity as well as elegance.

Our larger Gothic edifices, however, our cathedrals, cannot, either for size, or height, or lightness, or richness, enter into any competition with the more celebrated monuments of the same nature on the Continent: the expansion into treble aisles of the cathedral of Antwerp, or even into a double row, continued all round the choirs of Cologne, Rheims, Paris, Milan, and others in Germany, France, and Italy, have no parallel in England. None of our naves and choirs can be compared to that of St. Ouen, and of the cathedral, at Rouen, and more especially, the choirs of Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, and Beauvais, which, though raised to a loftiness that strikes the beholder with awe and astonishment, display the space between their tall and slender pillars so entirely filled with glass, that the whole range of windows only appears like a single zone of light, supported and separated by nothing but narrow mullions, situated at wide intervals: of those east ends, where, from the pillars placed in a semicircle, rise ribs, all concentrated into a single point, and forming, with the single zone of taller, or the more multiplied circles of shorter windows between them, a gorgeous lantern of light, seen in almost all the fine

continental churches, Canterbury and Westminster alone, show very imperfect embryos. In most places these elegant and gradual finishings are sought in vain, and the east end is cut short, and truncated, by a flat wall, filled with a single gigantic window, which, without exhibiting a rich and complete termination, only dazzles the eye, prevents the altar from standing forth and being distinctly seen, and forces the bishop's throne, from behind, to one side of it; nor do we find at the west end the deep porches, filled with statues, of Strasburg, Rheims, Paris, Chartres, Amiens, and others, and the large roses over them, of those and other cathedrals. In England they have a single very inferior representative, in the comparatively insignificant marygold window of Exeter, and in every other spot, their places are poorly occupied by a disproportionably small and insignificant entrance door, under as disproportionably large a window. Even our transepts have no marygold windows to be compared, for size and beauty, to those of Paris, Rheims, Rouen, Tours, St. Victor, and Sens, the latter of which are set in a screen wholly of open work. The broad bands of statues fifteen feet high, and the pillared and canopied pinnacles, bearing similiar statues, of Rheims, and the flying buttresses of Beauvais and Cologne, have no equals in England; even Turner, in his tour through Normandy, allows that the great churches in that province, in their double row of arches along the nave, and the vaulting of the aisles, reaching to the summit of the second row, possess a superiority over the English pointed. We remain at a prodigious distance

in size, from Cologne, Ratisbon, Strasburg, Amiens, Paris, Antwerp, and Milan; in height, from these same churches, or from the steeples of Antwerp, Mechlin; Strasburg, Chartres, Tours, and Bordeaux. We have nothing to compare with the airy lightness of the filigree work cast over the front of Strasburg, with the transparency displayed in the church of St. Ouen at Rouen, and of Notre Dame at Dijon, and in the choirs of Aix-la-chapelle, Cologne, and Beauvais, and of the steeples of Strasburg, Friburg, Antwerp, Brussels, Chartres, and Autun: we have nothing, for uniformity, and regularity, and consistency of architecture throughout, like St. Ouen at Rouen, and Notre Dame at Dijon. The last varieties of the pointed style, the arches of pediments, and other parts entirely curved outwards, and those over voids formed into a perfect ellipsis, cannot be said to have reached us.\*

Above all, have we in civil and domestic architecture, nothing to compare with the later town-halls in the Netherlands, châteaux in France, or habitations in the imperial cities of Germany.

The richest and most southern parts of Spain long remained occupied by the Moors, who boasted of their own architecture, different from that of the Christians, but which the Christians, as they drove them back, disdained not to convert to their uses, or to imitate. The famous Giralda, a square tower of Seville, is Moorish up to the belfry; and the *cortile* of the palace of Medina Sidonia, in that city, built in the sixteenth

\* It is, however, said that an instance of the elliptic arch may be found in the Bishop of Durham's chapel at Bishops Auckland.

century, shows the Moorish style mixed with the antique. Some magnificent cathedrals in the pointed style, however, were erected ; such as those at Burgos, at Barcelona, and at Seville ; the latter said to have been designed by a German architect. The finest pointed monument in Portugal (though inferior in size and richness to many of those quoted) is the church of Batalha, founded in 1378, for which its historian, Father de Souza, not only states the architects to have been invited from distant countries, but among the builders of which, other records pointedly mention a native of Ireland, of the name of Hacket, who probably belonged to a travelling fraternity of freemasons, and had certainly not derived his model from his own country.

From Germany, the pointed style, as it flowed westward to France, passed southward to Italy, of which the nearest regions had so long acknowledged German sway. In these we find it every where engrafted, in some shape, on the prior rounded stock of the dome. At Verona,\* the windows of the front and the arches of the nave are pointed. Of the dome of Modena, where the exterior is rounded, the interior is pointed. In the dome of Ferrara, † the front, all rounded in the lower half, has a pointed superstructure, and the three pediments edged by pointed galleries. At Padua, in the Palazzo Publico, the body, all Lombard, is encircled by a loggia partly pointed. The cathedrals of Como, ‡ of Sienna, and of Orvieto, and the church of Santa Maria della Spina, at Pisa, have rounded arches,

\* Plate XXVII.

† Plate XXVIII.

‡ Plate LXXXIV.

intermixed with, or surmounted by, pointed work. In many churches in which the solid parts are entirely rounded, the detached furniture, as I may call it, is pointed. In Sant' Eustorgio at Milan, the tombs, and, in the basilicas of Rome, the bishops' thrones, the altar canopies, and the cupboards for the consecrated bread and wine, are pointed; while other churches, like the dome at Milan, the Frari at Venice, and the churches of that very recent saint, San Francesco, at Pavia, at Assisi, and at Rimini, are entirely pointed from the very foundation.

Still, even in Lombardy, which was nearer to the focus of the new fashion, and more in the way of the infection; whether because the round style was indigenous, and the pointed that of strangers, from habit or from pride, did the pointed never gain the marked ascendancy it obtained in the north: and at Rome,—that richest receptacle of ancient architecture, which every successive desertion by its own sovereigns, its emperors, and its popes, every successive sack by its invaders, Huns and Vandals, could not have stripped of its vast architectural trophies, firm and solid as the rocks on which they stood, had not her own inhabitants, in their intestine feuds, completed the work, by converting monuments into castles, and hurling on the heads of their assailants the ornaments of their temples and palaces, until the very site of the city was changed, and, from the soaring crests of the seven hills, made to glide down into the marshy plain, exposed to constant inundations from the river,—at Rome the Campus Martius, though it had lost almost every fine monu-

ment of ancient architecture, could not afford to substitute any gorgeous examples of the new style. If that city, therefore, was early saturated with the Lombard style, it may well be supposed that the pointed found little food on which to thrive, and little vital energy to grow, when grafted on an ancient stock.

In fact, it is there confined to a very slight sprinkling of ornaments, ordered by some of the later heads of the church as an excuse for not rising grander monuments.

Where Italians were the architects, the rounded archways maintained their ground, and obtained intermixture with the pointed. In the palace called of the Lombard kings, at Pavia; in the Palazzo Publico at Piacenza; and at Como, and in many other edifices, the round arches rise above, or intervene between, the pointed ones, so as to show themselves contemporaneous, or younger: and most of the Italian cathedrals, vaunted as fine specimens of the pointed style, wholly want its essential characteristics. They show not the higher, as in Germany and France, insensibly growing out of, and intimately connected with, the lower parts. The celebrated churches of Monza,\* Sienna, Orvieto, and Spoleto, offer a mixture, which displeases through the inconsistency of the forms, while it dazzles through the richness of the materials; the white and various coloured marbles and mosaics, with bronze, with painting, and with gilding. The square parts are awkwardly inserted, and the pointed gables are mere screens, that have no connection either with the front or with the

\* Plate LXXX.



roof. A fine pointed steeple is nowhere beheld in Italy: and even in the Italian churches, most decidedly in this fashion, so rare are pillars not round but angular, and formed of clustered shafts, that they appear in no place, even in the more numerous pointed churches of Milan and of Venice; and that the only exceptions I remember are in the dome of Verona, the church of Sant' Antonio at Padua, and that of San Petronio at Bologna.

Indeed, we hardly see Italian architects adopt the pointed style, before they again revert to the round, even previous to the revival of the antique; witness, at Milan, the tower of the small church of San Gotardo,\* built in 1336, entirely woven over with small columns, some supported by its body, others projecting on brackets, all crowned by round-headed arches; and, what was esteemed a marvel in its day, at Florence, the Loggia dei Lanzi, built by Andrea Orcagna, in 1355, whose immense round-headed arches were deemed at the time a most happy suggestion; and at Como,† the new dome, which, built so late as 1396, has round-headed porches; and whatever churches, or other monuments are found in the north and central parts of Italy, are all, as we before remarked, not only in what is called the *stile tedesco*, but actually, as far as can be ascertained, built by German architects: witness the dome of Milan, the church of San Francesco at Assisi, and the ciboria of old St. Peter's, and of San Paolo, at Rome.

We have also had occasion to observe, that the

\* Plate LXXV.

† Plate LXXXIV.

southern extremity of Italy, most distant from the German confines, in the kingdom of Naples, the German style again, through the circuitous channel of the Norman sovereigns and influence, produced some elegant pointed monuments, in the churches of Naples, of Messina, of Monreale, and of Palermo.

Of the edifices in Italy, of the Lombardo-Gothic, or entirely in the pointed style, some, like the domes of Milan and Como, and the dome, baptistery, and *campanile* of Pisa, have been entirely faced with white marble; others, like the cathedral of Genoa, the baptistery, and the cloisters of Santa Maria Novella, San Marco and San Miniato of Florence; the dome of Monza,\* the Palazzo Publico of Como,† the baptistery at Pistoia, the naves of the cathedrals of Sienna and Orvieto, had been striped, or *zebraed*, in black and white; others, again, like the cathedral and *campanile* of Florence,‡ a church at Venice, the outside of those of Orvieto and Sienna, have been panelled in marbles of various colours; others, again, have been built of marble and brick, mixed; and some of the monuments in which the pointed style shows its greatest luxuriance, as in Santa Maria Gloriosa,§ Santa Maria del Orto,|| San Giacomo e Paolo, and San Stefano, at Venice, San Francesco at Pavia,¶ Santa Maria in Strata at Monza,\*\* the steeple of San Francesco at Bologna, all the tracery, and tabernacle work, and corbel tables,

\* Plate LXXX.

† Plate XCIV.

‡ Plate LXVIII.

\*\* Plate LXXVI.

† Plate LVII.

§ Plate LXXXV.

¶ Plate XCIII.

and pinnacles, have been entirely moulded in brick. North of the Alps we seldom see the pointed in brick, or in marble, but mostly in stone.

Of the designs for the principal monuments whose history I have here sketched, as executed or intended, few or no traces have been left ; because the architects, —the freemasons—carefully concealed them from the public eye, and probably, when suppressed, destroyed, instead of teaching them to others. Some, however, have been recently discovered among the archives of German monasteries, which show the deep science, and the long foresight, and the complicated calculations, employed at their execution.

While this style prevailed, as it was the only one in vogue, it bore no peculiar name : when, afterwards, it became superseded by the antique, and considered as barbarous, it was branded by that of Gothic, which, from Italy, was adopted in other countries : but, in reference to its origin, it was called *Gotico Tedesco*, as the rounded style had been called *Gotico Lombardo*. Sometimes, indeed, as I have already observed, its most luxuriant specimens were, by a strange approximation, called *Gotico Arabo*.

## CHAPTER XLII.

A LIST OF REMARKABLE EDIFICES IN THE POINTED  
STYLE.

I HAVE, in the course of this history of the pointed style, quoted several examples calculated to illustrate my position : such are sometimes found very marked and singular, in comparatively insignificant edifices ; while others, distinguished by their size and magnificence, may have no very peculiar character. I therefore think, that an enumeration of the principal edifices in the pointed style, with which I am acquainted, classified according to their localities, may be a useful adjunct to this essay : and I here give it, beginning with the country where the pointed style arose.

*Principal Edifices in the Pointed Style in Germany.*

## AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

Cathedral—choir of prodigious height and lightness, having the appearance of a stupendous lantern, all of glass : remains of beautiful cloisters, destroyed in the Revolution.

## COLOGNE.

Cathedral ; begun in 1248, by Elector Conrad, of

Hochstedtin, to hold the bodies of the three Magi, brought by Emperor Frederic Barbarossa from Milan: in the richest broad-windowed style, already at that era prevailing in Germany,—with double aisles, not only round the nave, but choir. This is the only part finished, 180 feet high, and internally, from its size, height, and disposition of pillars, arches, chapels, and beautifully coloured windows, resembling a splendid vision. Externally, its double range of stupendous flying buttresses, and intervening piers, bristling with a forest of purfled pinnacles, strike the beholder with awe and astonishment. If completed, this church would have been at once the most stupendous and most regular pointed monument existing. The two towers, gradually diminishing to the top, were designed to have reached the height of five hundred German feet.

Elegant octagon tower of the Berlipschen hof; west door of St. Cunibert\* pointed, but with Lombard ornaments; and west door of Saint Gereon, also decorated in the Lombard style.

#### BACHARACH, ON THE RHINE.

Church of St. Werner; † demolished by the Swedes, in the thirty years' war, but showing in its east end, a lantern, rising on a rock, suspended over the river like a fairy fabric, the remains of the lightest and most elegant lancet style existing.

#### OBERWESEL, ON THE RHINE.

Handsome church; built in 1331, by Baldwin, arch-

\* Plate XLVIII.

† Plate LXXXVI.

bishop of Treves ; fine south porch ; \* elegant cloisters ; behind the altar a screen, † the perfection of elegance and delicacy, in the florid style ; about the nave, tombs of knights in armour, and of noble dames, single, or hand in hand ; and others, of smaller size, of infants in swaddling clothes.

ANDERNACH.

Elegant round watch-tower, and crane ; ‡ both with cornice of trefoil corbel tables.

FRANCFORT.

Cathedral ; steeple, as far as finished, in a good style.

GELNHAUSEN.

Cathedral ; § said to be of the first half of the thirteenth century ; in the transition style, from the Lombard to the pointed ; nave with pointed arches, and round windows over them ; centre of transept, a square, growing into an octagon : decorated externally with slender detached pillars, carrying small trefoil arches ; round corbel tables supported by pendant capitals ; octagon tower.

HEIDELBERG.

Castle ; elegant entrance gate, || with statues, on corbels, and under canopies ; and round tower similarly ornamented.

\* Plate LV.      † Plate LXXXVI.      ‡ Plate LXXXIII.  
 § Plate LIX      || Plate LXXXVII.

**ESSINGEN, ON THE NECKAR.**

Cathedral ; with a beautiful open-work spire.

**LANDSHUT.**

St. Martin ; a fine spire.

**OPPENHEIM.**

Church of St. Catherine ; partly Lombard, partly lancet, partly in the most gorgeous florid style, and of unique elegance : threatening speedily to fall in.

**FRIBURG.**

Cathedral ; dedicated to St. Nicholas ; begun by Conrad, Duke of Zähringen, in 1123, and finished in 1283. Its spire is celebrated for height, beautiful proportions, lightness, and open work.

**TREVES.**

A polygonal church, built in 1223.

**STRASBURG.**

Cathedral : founded in 1015, finished in 1275, with the exception of the choir, which belonged to the old church, and is attributed to Charlemagne. Of the towers, begun in 1277, by Erwin of Steinbach, one, completed in 1439, offers, at each of its four corners, a spiral staircase, almost transparent, carried to the summit. The gigantic mass of the west end, over the solid part of which is thrown a netting of detached arches and pillars, notwithstanding their delicacy, from

the hardness and excellent preservation of the stone, are so true and sharp as to look like a veil of the finest cast iron, contains a rose of upwards of fifty feet in diameter, and rises to the height of 230 feet, *i. e.* higher than the towers of York Minster.

HEILBRON.

The church of St. Kilien has a steeple, with windows, of a late, though round-headed, style; a curious outside winding staircase, open, on columns.

TUBINGEN.

Church, with fine tombs of the Dukes of Wurtemberg, in full armour.

NUREMBERG.

A fine town-hall and cross.

ULM.

A cathedral, begun in 1377, and finished, except the tower, in 1478; one of the largest and finest in Germany. The unfinished tower was to have been 491 German feet high, which is upwards of five hundred English feet.

RATISBON.

A cathedral, of gigantic size. Its projecting porch presents a pier in the centre, and two archways at right angles with each other. The central pier carried ungracefully up to the very summit of the front.



## VIENNA.

Cathedral ; the one of the two steeples, intended to flank it, which is finished, grows most regularly in re-treating arches, buttresses, &c., from the very base to the summit.

## BERNE.

A cathedral : its terrace rising 108 feet over the river ; built in 1344, by Matthias, son of Erwin of Steinbach, architect of the steeple of Strasburg : the church begun in 1401. Its west entrance is rich : each compartment of the balustrade over the nave and aisles is different.

*Netherlands.*

## HAARLEM.

A great church, built in 1472, very large and high. Its choir is enclosed by a screen of bright brass, worked in foliage, like the borders of ancient missals.

## UTRECHT.

The cathedral, begun in 1224, has a detached tower, 388 feet high, finished in 1321 ; and cloisters, destroyed by the Belgian iconoclasts in 1566, which show remains of rich sculpture.

## BRUGES.

The town-house ; begun in 1376 ; very rich and delicate style. The Chapelle du Sang de Dieu,\* of

\* Plate LXXXIX.

the last Gothic style, with flat arches, balustrade pillars, and modillions. A prodigiously high tower in the market-place.

GHENT.

The town-house.\* Its Gothic part built in 1482, in the latest style, with flattened trefoil arches, and pediments curved upwards, in the style of the Palais de Justice at Rouen. Saint Bavon, very lofty.

ANTWERP.

Cathedral: one of the largest and most regularly distributed I know. It has three complete aisles on each side, with clustered pillars; over the centre, a fine octagonal lantern replaces the intended tower. The part of its front not hid or defaced, is elegant, though appearing narrow from its height. The one, of the two steeples, completed in 1588, is 466 feet high, and of great delicacy of workmanship. The exchange,† built in 1531, with low flat trefoil arches, on rich pillars, is very handsome.

MECHLIN.

The cathedral, large and lofty, was finished in 1450, and its steeple begun in 1452; the part built, is 348 feet high; and, if completed, would have been more than a third higher; is a prodigy of delicate open-work, with the buttresses reversed or curled outwards.

BRUSSELS.

The cathedral of Sainte Gudule: the pillars are

\* Plate LXXVIII.

† Plate LXXXII.

round and heavy. The town-house,\* begun in 1400, and finished in 1442, is imposing, from its size and height; five rows of dormer windows are placed lozenge-wise in the roof; the tower is 364 feet in height, with a statue of St. Michael in bronze, gilt, fourteen feet high, at the top.

## LOUVAIN.

The town-house,\* begun in 1410, finished in 1420, is the *ne plus ultra* of the florid style, covered over with countless figures; three rich and delicate towers terminate the top and flanks of each opposite gable. Of the cathedral, the pillars cluster to the ceiling, where, without the intervention of capitals, they immediately spread into the ribs of the vault; the central steeple was 533 feet high, and the side tower 430, before they fell, or were taken down, in 1604.

## YPRES

Has a town-house, of prodigious size and magnificence; begun in 1342.

## CAMBRAI.

Magnificent church of Notre Dame, begun in 1149; fine open north spire.

## LIEGE.

The much admired cathedral, destroyed in the Revolution: but St. Jacques,† in the transitive style from the pointed to the cinque-cento, exists, and is

\* Plate LXXXI.

† Plate XC.

most elegant; the arches are elegantly fringed; it possesses wide windows, elegantly mullioned; net-work screens; reeded pillars, branching into rich tracery, studded with numerous embossed ornaments, containing within them gay arabesques, modillions of saints, sovereigns, and prelates innumerable, all most gorgeously, yet harmoniously, painted and gilt. The Palais de Justice, formerly Bishop's palace, is singular and vast; the interior square, or court, has a loggia all round, of pillars, formed like balustrades, each with sculpture of a different design, supporting low pointed arches.

ST. OMER.

A Benedictine abbey church of St. Bertin, with a huge tower, built in 1431, considered the finest church in the Low Countries; and for size, purity, and uniformity of style, far exceeding any in England; was destroyed in the Revolution.

*France.*

ABBEVILLE.

Of the principal church, contrary to the usual custom, the nave alone was finished; the transepts and choir only commenced. The front is very light, rich, and full of bas-reliefs.

AMIENS.

The cathedral, begun in 1222, by Robert de Lusarche, and finished in 1269, has three rich deep

portals full of statues, unfinished towers, fine nave, and range of spreading windows.

ROUEN.

Of the cathedral, the front is rich, but confused, and in unequal styles ; it has a fine rose in the nave and transepts ; a fine inside termination to the latter ; and a fine front to the north transept, flanked with open towers, of uncommonly grand appearance.

St. Ouen, of which the rebuilding was commenced in 1318, the front was to have been flanked by two huge steeples, placed diagonally with it, between which a curved portico of three vast arches was proposed, but it is unfinished. There is a fine steeple over the centre ; the interior is a most perfect specimen of lightness, harmony, and uniformity, the window (says Turner) seeming to have absorbed all the solid wall of the building ; an elegant rose is placed over the nave and transept ; the stately rood loft was destroyed in the Revolution.

The town-hall, or Palais de Justice, is in the style of those of Bruges, Ghent, &c., called by Turner, the Burgundian ; with pediments curling outwards ; and a hall, called Salle des Procureurs, is 150 feet in length, by 50 in width, very simple and grand.

St. Macloud, built at the meeting of two streets, with a bowed open porch, and front according with it.

The Hotel du Seigneur de Bourgtheroulde, and other private habitations, are in the last Gothic style, with elliptic arches, modillions, &c.

ANJOU.

A handsome abbey church, converted into a prison chapel, in which were the tombs of some of our ancient kings ; destroyed in the Revolution.

NEAR CAEN.

Château de Fontaine le Henri : some details in the most elegant pointed style.

DIEPPE.

St. Jacques : begun in 1260, not completed till 1350 ; the pendants in our Lady's chapel are fine.

LISIEUX.

The church of St. Pierre was formerly a cathedral : though begun in 1049, and finished before 1077, when Bishop Odericus Vitalis, who built it, died ; it has pointed arches, evidently belonging to the original part.

LOUVIERS.

A church, with fine pointed porch, much defaced.

BEAUVAIS.

The celebrated choir of the unfinished cathedral, a miracle of loftiness and lightness, from the number of flying buttresses, appears as if about to soar into air.

ST. DENIS.

The crypt is old but handsome ; nave restored by

Abbot Suger, with a fine range of spreading windows : has a slight twist.

ST. VICTOR.

An abbey near Paris ; has a fine rose.

VINCENNES

Has a magnificent chapel, founded in 1379.

PARIS.

The cathedral of Notre Dame, finished in 1275, by Jean de Chelles ; a fine mass ; but was despoiled, during the Revolution, of the colossal statues and other imagery that adorned its front. It has double aisles ; superb roses in the transepts ; sides externally very light and handsome.

Sainte Chapelle ; built by Louis IX. (the architect, Pierre de Montereau ; ) consecrated in 1248, very light and elegant.

St. Etienne du Mont ; with aisles as high as the nave, which give it a singular and aërial appearance ; though much modernized, has a very considerable twist.

MELUN.

The church is built upon a very irregular piece of ground, so that its several aisles spread one way, and run to nothing the other ; the nave has the elliptic arch of the last pointed style.

## VILLENEUVE, SUR YONNE.

A church : inside pointed, and with elegant rose ; externally, a singular front in the cinque-cento style.

## SOISSONS.

Cathedral and other remarkable churches.

## LONGPONT, IN THE VALAIS.

Superb abbey church, consecrated in 1227.

## RHEIMS.

Cathedral ; its altar dedicated in 1215, but the church probably not finished before the middle of the thirteenth century. Though less huge than Strasburg, and without the double tier of flying buttresses of Cologne, yet altogether the most majestic and well-proportioned Gothic mass, entirely finished, which I know. It has three deep porches, richly decorated with statues ; over these a large rose, and a belt of statues fifteen feet high, and pyramidizing steeples ; along the sides most elegantly canopied pinnacles, buttresses, and pedimented balustrades round the top : the sharpness is much gone, from the softness of the stone. The interior is beautifully disposed, though without the magic lightness of the choirs of Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, or Beauvais ; the inside of the west end has its niches and panels adorned with different species of foliage ; its band of windows over these, and the rose that surmounts all, very handsome.

St. Rémi, the patron saint of the city, has a fine



church. That of St. Nicaise, considered as almost equal to the cathedral, was destroyed in the Revolution.

ST. NICHOLAS,

About a league eastward of Nancy ; its church, dedicated to the saint of that name, begun in 1490, forms between the choir and the nave an elbow, evidently intentional ; on each side of the nave two arches of the aisles rise to its utmost whole height, and are divided by pillars, fluted in different directions, of prodigious height and thinness.

METZ.

Abbaye de St. Vincent.

TOUL.

The cathedral has a west front, with a fine rose, two towers, and tracery work, balustrades, &c. of the most elegant lace or filigree work imaginable. The interior was much battered during the Revolution.

SENS.

The cathedral, of immense size, was begun in the tenth century, and in the Lombard style ; the pointed portion is early and heavy ; but in the north transept is a celebrated rose, entirely surrounded and supported by open work.

AUXERRE.

The celebrated cathedral of St. Etienne ; the front

and the side porches are very rich in statuary ; only one steeple is finished ; the interior is somewhat in the style of St. George's chapel, Windsor, but on a much larger scale, with clustered pillars, developing the transepts beautifully from the nave : and round extremity, with windows composed of a double arch, and a rosette between. The church of St. Pierre has a fine large steeple, and elegant termination, in the same style with the cathedral.

## DIJON ;

Once La Ville aux beaux Clochers, until, in the Revolution, most of them, together with the Ste. Chapelle, founded by Hugues Duke of Burgundy, and considered as one of the finest pointed monuments existing, and the beautiful Chartreuse, founded in 1383, by Philippe le Hardi, in the last pointed style, and with flat elliptical arches, in which were most of the tombs of the dukes, were destroyed. Notre Dame still remains ; and with its open vestibule, supporting two tiers of columns, and small arches, and the fine light regular architecture of its interior, is one of the handsomest pointed churches in France.

## AUTUN.

A cathedral, begun in the Lombard style ; the nave has fluted pilasters, imitating the antique, but with grotesque capitals, and pointed arches ; a singular cruciform pointed arch, at the entrance of the nave ; and most elegant pointed spire.

## LYON.

The cathedral, begun in the Lombard style; with fine space and proportions; the choir is lower than the nave, and causes the latter to be terminated at the east end by a rose; the round extremity, with triforium inside, and small galleries outside, is in the Lombard style, and has four steeples.

## VIENNE.

The cathedral is preceded by a magnificent terrace of twenty-eight steps, and a parapet adorned with elliptic arches; the plan, and some of the elevations of the church, are Lombard: the internal distribution, and the steps leading from the nave to the choir, and from the choir to the sanctuary, are very fine. It has no transepts; no chapels at the termination, but windows down to the pavement; insulated altar, and bishop's throne behind it. Altogether, one of the grandest, and simplest, and most striking edifices which I have seen.

## VALENCE.

In a narrow street, an old house may be remarked in the last, and richest florid style, with elliptic arches and modillions.

## AVIGNON,

Though much defaced in the Revolution, has, besides some remains of pointed work in the papal palace, a very handsome church, with the front in the last pointed style, mixed with cinque-cento, arabescoes, and modillions. An elegant private house with trefoil cor-

bels and tall suspended tower, and several very elegant spires.

AIX.

A handsome porch of St. Sauveur (the cathedral), and steeple of St. Jean.

BEAUCAIRE AND TARASCON.

Castles very fine, and pretty pointed steeples, as well as at Arles, St. Rémi, and Lambesc.

TOULOUSE.

The curious pointed brick front of the church du Tour, displays arches forming a rectangular point, and lozenged apertures over them. The steeple of St. Saturnin, and another, are in the same style.

MARTRES,

Near Toulouse, where exists a steeple with pointed arches, each divided in the middle by a column rising their full height.

PAU.

The castle.

BORDEAUX.

The cathedral of St. André, built in 1252; the nave is nine *toises* wide, and without aisles, over which, one of the boldest vaults known, is carried. The choir is much higher, and with double aisles; of which the extremity offers, externally, with its flying buttresses, piers

and pinnacles, a most magnificent pyramidizing mass. The north transept is flanked by beautiful spires, each adorned by coronets of pediments: the south transept unfinished; a detached tower, built in 1440. The church of St. Michel has a gorgeous north porch, and an arch fringed with a double row of trefoil pendants; there is a detached tower, built in 1472, whose spire, now taken down, is supposed to have been the highest existing. The church of St. Severin, in the Lombard style, has a very gorgeous pointed south porch, covered with statuary.

#### PÉRIGUEUX.

The cathedral exhibits one of the pointed arches, with Lombard ornaments.

#### TULLE.

A handsome cathedral.

#### POITIERS.

Of the cathedral, the shell and the east end are Lombard, but the front and nave pointed, and with a beautiful rose. The aisles being very wide, and as high as the nave, which has no spreading windows, produce a greater idea of space, and an appearance less contracted than that of the pointed cathedrals, whose height is very considerable in proportion to their width.

#### BOURGES.

The cathedral of St. Etienne was built in 1324, by Bishop Guillaume de Brousse; a very magnificent church, with five deep porches.

NANTES.

The château.

TOURS.

St. Gratien; the rosette in the entrance is slightly pointed, or lozenged; the outside of the north transept is very fine, and with a beautiful rosette; the steeples are unequal. The immense church of St. Martin was destroyed in the Revolution.

BLOIS.

Some parts of the castle, of Louis XII's time and style, display rich arabesqued pillars and elliptic arches, and curious winding stair-cases.

CHARTRES.

One of the steeples of the cathedral has an enormous spire; the other, much taller, and of later architecture, decreases gradually, and displays the utmost elegance: the porch is adorned with colossal figures, and very massy flying buttresses and pinnacles.

ORLEANS.

The cathedral was rebuilt on the old foundation, in the pointed style, in Henry IV's time; but the very handsome towers were finished in 1780, by M. Paris, Architecte du Roi.

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The edifices in the pointed style in England I shall

not enumerate, as they are sufficiently known to most of my readers, and, of those in the other northern regions, I am only acquainted with the cathedral of Upsala, in Sweden, built in the thirteenth century, by a Frenchman,—Pierre de Bonneuil,—and resembling Notre Dame of Paris.

At the other extremity of Europe,—in Spain,—the handsomest pointed edifices are,

#### BURGOS.

The cathedral, built in 1221, by Don Ferdinand III.; very fine and large; has in front two steeples, with magnificent open-work spires. Fine octagonal chapel of the Connetable.

#### BARCELONA.

The cathedral, begun in 1299, and not yet entirely finished: nave spacious and grand.

#### POBLET.

The monastery, founded in 1149, contains the tombs of several kings.

#### SEVILLE.

An immense cathedral, begun in 1401, and finished in 1506; with double aisles. Its steeple, the Giralda, begun by the Moors, in their style of architecture, as high as the belfry.

In Portugal, the most remarkable monument in this style is the monastery of Batalha.

*Pointed Edifices in Lombardy.*

NEAR RIVOLI, IN PIEDMONT.

Saint Antonio di Renversa\*, a small brick church, whose front offers, over three pointed arches, three most elegant pointed tympanums.

PAVIA.

The edifice called the Palace of the Lombard Kings, but probably built by the later dukes, and considered as one of the finest buildings of its era, was a quadrangle with four towers, two of which, and one side, were destroyed by the French. The body is brick, the columns and other ornaments of marble; the ground tier of arcades pointed, those over them round-headed, containing the most beautiful tracery and rosettes, all varied in the style of the round arches of the Campo Santo of Pisa, or of San Michele at Florence.

The church of San Francesco,† in brick, of different colours; but its front is a model of elegant distribution of parts, in the pointed style.

Of the Certosa, between Pavia and Milan, the nave, commenced in the round, was finished in the pointed manner. The west end is of the cinque-cento time, and equally gorgeous in material and in workmanship.

MILAN.

The cathedral is a mass of pure statuary marble (the roof included), to the very summit of the spire; begun

\* Plate XCII.

† Plate LXXXIII.



in 1385, by John Galeazzo Visconti, first duke, from the designs, some say, of Henry Gamodia, a German ; others, of Marco di Campiglione, near Lugano ; and by Cæsar Cæsarianus entirely attributed to Germans. It is the widest, highest, and largest church in the pointed style, wholly terminated ; and would have been the completest, if the front had been finished according to the fine pointed original design. The pillars of the nave are round, with capitals formed of niches, and full-sized statues. No triforium, or spreading windows, but double aisles : the church, and particularly the east end, is very dark.

#### MONZA.

Its cathedral,\* where is kept the iron crown of the Lombard kings, was first finished in 595, in the form of a Greek cross, by Flavia Theodalinda, a queen of the Lombards. The interior, notwithstanding its modern mask, still shows the Lombard character. In 1350, Matteo di Campione built the façade in the pseudo-pointed style, like the churches of Orvieto, Sienna, and Fôligno, with round and pointed arches mixed, and the pillars of the porch resting on lions. The pediments of the top stand before the roof, unconnected with it. It has black and white marble stripes.

Santa Maria in Strata,† built in 1357. It has a brick front, with trefoil, cusped, and interlaced corbel tables ; rose, and other ornaments of the same material, of the richest and most delicate description.

\* Plate LXXX.

† Plate LXXVI.

## COMO.

The present cathedral,\* with front entirely of white marble, begun, in 1369, in the Lombard style, continued in the pointed, and finished by Innocent XI., in the cinque-cento manner. The three entrance doors round-headed, and of the richest Lombard style: the façade divided by slips, or pilasters, with statues all the way up, enclosing a most magnificent rose, and studded with the richest tribunes and canopies; elegant trefoil corbels circulate round the cornice and pinnacles, the centre of which chiefly presents a circular temple of small columns on brackets, rising from a tall pedestal, and supporting a diadem of lesser pinnacles, and is unique. The casements of the side doors, and of the windows, in the cinque-cento style, are rich beyond description, and all different. The octagonal tower and transepts are more in the style of Brunelleschi; the nave is pointed Gothic; the arches have figured windows over them; the fonts for holy water are supported by lions.

Of the town-hall,† the arches on the ground floor are pointed; those over them, in part round, and elegantly clustered.

## BERGAMO.

The palazzo publico is entirely pointed. The cathedral has porches of very rich pointed architecture. The sacristy is of a singular bastard pointed manner. Outside the town, the church of Sant' Agostino has a

\* Plate LXXXIV.

† Plate LVII.

tall pointed window, of great elegance, on each side of the door.

#### VERONA.

The dome;\* in the ancient front, pointed windows are inserted. Santa Anastasia, built in the beginning of the thirteenth century, of which the front, only finished in part, was to have been covered with basso-relievos. The nave is pointed. The tombs of the Scaligeri are of a whimsical pointed style. Most of the private dwellings have pointed ogee windows.

#### PADUA.

Church of Sant' Antonio :† externally is half Lombard, half pointed; inside has large round arches; lesser arches around the termination of the church, supported on clustered pillars, pointed. Screens, with handsome pointed trefoil arches. In the cylinder of the centre is a cupola, small round-headed arches, as in St. Mark's at Venice, and the mosques at Constantinople.

Palazzo publico; built in 1172, with *loggie*, added in 1306; partly pointed.

#### VENICE.

St. Mark's. Many of the finishings are pointed, in the ogee style.

Ducal palace. The ancient palace being destroyed, a new one was built under Doge Marino Faliero, in the middle of the fourteenth century, under the direc-

\* Plate XXVII.

† Plate LXVII.

tion of the Venetian architect, Filippo Calendario. Its external belt of interlaced pointed arches is very magnificent; the *cortile* more approaches the cinque-cento. Many palaces exist, with fronts in the same trefoil pointed style, and with interlaced arches, and quatrefoils between their points, very beautiful.

There are at Venice three principal churches, in what is called the Gotico Tedesco style, besides others of smaller dimensions, viz. San Giacomo e Paolo, Santa Maria Gloriosa,\* or De' Frari, and Santa Maria del Orto.† All these are in brick, have handsome pointed pediments, with rich cornices of interlaced corbel tables, a round-headed door, a rich rose over it, and rich canopied pinnacles, with statues over the ends and centre of the pediment. The naves of all three are pointed; the pillars round. At the east end of each, inserted between the pointed converging arches, forming the conch, are long narrow lancet windows, divided in their length by long transverse bands or fasciæ. San Giacomo e Paolo was begun in 1246, and not finished in 1390. It was built by the Dominicans, who, among themselves, had their architects in one style, as the Franciscans had theirs in another; and the stained glass windows in the transept are very fine. Santa Maria Gloriosa, or De' Frari, was built, according to Vasari, from a design of Nicolo Pisano. Its detached steeple has round arches, over those which are pointed. Santa Maria del Orto, formerly called San Cristoforo, whose images are seen in the front, was built at the end of the thirteenth century. The church of

\* Plate LXXXV.

† Plate LXVIII.

San Stefano, built in the same style with the former, was finished in 1325.

## BOLOGNA.

San Petronio, an immense church, begun late in the fourteenth century, and externally finished a small part of its height, is all pointed; the interior with clustered pillars: at the corner of its south transept is half of a pointed window, of which the other half is on the return of the angle.

The piazza, in front of merchants' hall, is rich Gothic Tedesco.

The church of San Francesco, built in 1245, by Nicolo Bresciano, has three pointed naves, of equal width.

## FERRARA.

Dome: its front rounded, all but the top tier of galleries crossing under the pediment;\* its side presents pointed arches, inclosing lesser round-headed, and again supporting others, also round-headed. The inside is modernised.

## RAVENNA.

Gothic Tedesco entrance to the cortile of San Giovanni della Sagra.

## RIMINI.

Church of San Francesco; originally all pointed, but by Sigismund Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, under the

\* Plate XXVIII.

direction of the Florentine architect, Leon Baptista Alberti, cased within and without with white marble, chiefly obtained from the ancient edifices of Ravenna; leaving, however, the pointed style to peep out from underneath. Inside, square pilasters, composed of a pedestal, and three divisions above it, each with square composite pilasters, forming the angles, crowned by a commensurate general capital, supporting the pointed arches. ● The outside case, formed of round-headed arches, between which, on a superb general stylobate, stand sarcophagi, all alike, which had been destined for Sigismund's poets, generals, and favourites.

Small church of Santa Maria in Acumine; built, according to an inscription on the wall, in 1373, in brick, and very highly wrought, with three pediments along the sides.

#### PESARO.

Churches in marble and brick, with rich Gotico Tedesco porches.

#### FANO.

Church, with very handsome Gotico Tedesco porch, of three arches.

#### ANCONA.

Church of San Francesco della Scala: front unfinished, except a gorgeous portico of the last Gotico Tedesco style, with pediments curved partly inwards

and partly outwards, like some of those in San Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.



Exchange, with rich Gotico Tedesco front, spiral columns, &c.

Palazzo del Governo, with pilasters and capitals after the antique, carrying pointed arches: date inscribed on them, 1400.

### *Tuscany.*

#### PISA.

Baptistery; built in 1152, from the designs of Dioti Salvi: round, and with two tiers of round-headed arches, finished with pointed pediments, pinnacles, and crockets.

Dome; built chiefly with round-headed arches: those of the outer aisles, as well as the finishings of the pediment, pointed.

Campo Santo, begun in 1275, on the designs of Giovanni Pisano, son of Nicolo, has a pointed entrance; cloisters, with arches, round at the top, but filled with elegant pointed mullions and tracery, resembling that of the Palazzo del Governo at Pavia, and of Or San Michele at Florence; and thence, probably dating from 1464, when, according to the *Theatrum Basilicæ Pisanæ*, considerable alterations were made in the

windows of the cloisters of the Campo Santo, by Archbishop Philip de' Medici.

Santa Maria della Spina; a small church on the banks of the Arno, begun in 1230, continued in 1274, and finished after 1300 by Giovanni Pisano, son of Nicolo, singular in its form and distribution; lower part with round-headed arches; upper part with pointed ones, and very rich. Considered in its time, according to Vasari, as a miracle of art: it procured for the architect the building of the Campo Santo.

## FLORENCE.

Dome, or Santa Maria del Fiore, begun, in 1298, by Arnolfo da Lapo, disciple of Cimabue. The cupola is a heavy elongated octagon, finished about 150 years later, by Brunelleschi, in the same style. The *facciata* once was almost half encrusted with marbles of various colours, like the sides and east end, after the designs of Giotto, and full of statues and basso-relievos, but, in 1586, this was deemed too antique, destroyed, and another begun; which again was demolished in 1688, and has been replaced by the modern front in fresco-painting. The sides and back, panelled in red, black, and white marble, like cabinet work; but with a magnificent Gotico Tedesco south porch.\* The pointed interior presents nothing striking, except its space and vastness: the octagonal cupola and its absides, or chapels, are dark and cold. The *campanile*, cased and panelled in white, red, and black marble, square all the way up, but with Gotico

\* Plate XCIV.



Tedesco finishing, is a gem. The baptistery is octagonal, modernised in a case of black and white marble, covering it both without and within, excepting the ancient mosaics of the cupola.

Santa Maria Novello; begun in 1279; cloisters striped in black and white marble.

Santa Croce; built in 1285: many tombs in the Gotico Tedesco trefoil style.

Loggia dei Lanzi; built by Andrea Orcagna, in 1355, with round-headed arches; then considered a *Cosa Nova*, and much admired; bold cornice, in the pointed style.

San Michele del Orto,\* commonly called Or San Michele; built in 1337, as a *loggia* for selling corn; but afterwards, by the different associated guilds, its ground floor turned into a church, and its upper stories into their offices. A square building, with three regular stories. The ground floor displays round-headed arches, containing tracery, and divided by niches and canopies in the most beautiful pointed style; the niches being occupied by statues in bronze and marble of the patron saints of the different guilds, by Giovanni di Bologna, Donatello, and other masters. The second and third stories have pointed arches, and a prodigiously bold flat cornice, in the Gotico Tedesco style.

#### PISTOIA.

Octagonal baptistery, in the pointed style; begun in 1339.

\* Plate LXXIX.

## SIENNA.

Dome ; begun in the eleventh century, consecrated about 1180 by Pope Alexander III. The front was first completed about the middle of the thirteenth century, by Giovanni di Sienna ; but, not being approved of, was demolished, the nave lengthened, and the new front begun, in 1284, it is supposed, on the designs of Nicolo Pisano ; and finished by Lorenzo Mastani, a native of Sienna, in 1290. It is inlaid with black, red, and white marble, relieved with other colours, painting, and gilding, and offers a bastard pointed style, or, rather, jumble of different styles ; the centre porch being round, and those of the sides pointed, and the higher parts not arising insensibly out of the lower, but seeming stuck on these *après coup* ; the pediments only like triangular screens or plates placed before, and unconnected with, the roof. The inside zebraed in black and white ; pillars clustered ; but arches round-headed. The centre, formed of six arches, disposed in an irregular hexagon, (owing, perhaps, to the later alterations and aggrandisements,) supporting a cupola equally irregular. Towards the choir more space and lightness ; both ends terminating in a handsome rose window. Gilt statues and ornaments relieve the sombre hues of the church : a grand fascia of modillions, with alto-relievo heads of the popes, runs round the frieze of the nave, whose vault is divided by fasciæ of rich coloured and gilt arabesques, in panels containing light pointed stars studding an azure ground. A zone of small pillars runs round the

tympanum of the cupola, and an octagonal white marble pulpit, carved by Nicolo Pisano, with the date of 1226, rests on a circle of columns, one central and eight around it, of which the alternate members stand on lions playing with their cubs.

The baptistery, or church of San Giovanni forming the back or eastern front of the dome, but on a much lower level, and descended to by many steps, has a front of white marble, of a much purer Gotico Tedesco style. It was built in 1452, but in part left unfinished. Its pilasters panelled in lozenges, alternately with quatrefoils, heads of St. John the Baptist, and lions' heads, exquisitely beautiful. Its interior very shallow, and to the north of it a lofty flight of steps, leading through a beautiful marble gate, in the pointed style, to the place of the dome.

Palazzo del Governo : begun in 1287.

The habitations of Sienna offer in their windows every species of simple and compound Gotico.

*Roman and Neapolitan States.*

ASSISI.

Church of San Francesco : begun in 1228, finished in 1230 ; all pointed ; attributed by Vasari to a German architect, and by its historian, Pietro Ridolfi, called Opus Teutonicum.

ORVIETO.

Church ; begun in 1290 : of a bastard style, and much like those of Sienna and Monza : indeed, partly

designed, like that of Sienna, by Nicolo Pisano, who wrought the basso-relievos in both. Like it also encrusted in black, white, and red marble: adorned with rich basso-relievos, painting, gilding, and mosaic. The pediments not insensibly growing out of parts underneath, or connected with the roof: but, as at Sienna, mere pieces of detached wall. The interior zebraed.

MONTEFIASCONE.

Church of San Flaviano: near one of the gates, repaired in 1265, by Urban IV.; with round and pointed arches mixed.

TOLENTINO.

Church of San Nicolo: pointed arches, and gallery with trefoil arches, and corbel tables around the cornice.

SPOLETO.

Cathedral: pseudo-pointed; the lower part, or porch, in the cinque-cento style; with two pulpits facing the square, for questions and answers. Over this a pointed arch, containing a mosaic picture, and several marigold windows, around and above it. That in the centre is square, containing the symbols of the Evangelists: it has a low truncated pediment.

An aqueduct, with pointed arches.

ROME.

Santa Maria in Araceli: a brick front, with pointed windows and cornice.

San Giovanni Laterano: an absis in brick, with pointed windows and corbel tables.

Over the different altars of San Giovanni Laterano, of old St. Peter's, San Paolo, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, San Lorenzo, San Nereo ed Achilleo, and over the two side altars of Santa Maria in Trastavere; ciboria of white marble, encrusted in mosaics of enamel and gold, in the pointed trefoil style, and with purfled pinnacles. Similar canopies over the old bishop's throne of San Giovanni Laterano, and of old St. Peter's. The throne of San Giovanni Laterano is removed to its cloisters; and the throne and ciborium of St. Peter's to the Sacre Grotte. The ciborium cuspidatum of San Paolo was executed, according to the inscription on it, by Arnulphus and his companion Peter, in 1285: though pointed, its columns and mouldings are after the antique. The ciborium of St. Peter is described by Ciampini, as a "*ciborium cuspidatum Germani operis cujus architectus fuit quidam Arnulphus,*" and was raised, in 1290, by Pope Boniface VIII. That of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, is stated by Ciampini to be of the twelfth century.

The mausoleum cuspidatum of Cardinal Gonsalvus, in Santa Maria Maggiore, according to the inscription, is of 1299.

#### NAPLES.

San Giovanni dei Carbonari; built in 1414; contains the fine pointed monuments of Ladislaus and another.

MESSINA.

Cathedral : founded by Ruggiero, Earl of Sicily, and finished in the richest pointed style.

PALERMO.

The ancient Madre Chiesa, which was pointed, is now demolished.

MONREALE.

Abbey church of San Martino : nave composed of antique columns supporting round arches.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

## LOCAL PECULIARITIES OF ARCHITECTURE.

INDEPENDENTLY of these distinct styles of architecture, different from each other, each leading and comprehensive, which successively pervaded almost the whole of the civilized world, there arose within their general boundaries, particularly in the small states that were formed in Italy during the Middle Ages, from the customs, institutions, and manners of each, certain individual styles, varying from each other, and from the general habits of the age; on which was only engrafted as much of the latter as was compatible with their local peculiarities. These show themselves very strikingly in the private habitations of public men, in Venice, Bologna, and Florence.

At Venice, where the character of merchant and of nobleman were combined, the want at once of capacious warehouses for goods, and of large halls for assemblies, caused, in every considerable mansion, the whole central space to be occupied by one single large room, reaching from front to back; with which all the staircases, passages, and lesser rooms, for those of the domestic circle, on each side communicated: and, in order to throw sufficient light into this room, very deep

in proportion to its breadth, the whole of the width in front was occupied by a range of windows, as near to each other as possible, or rather by a continuous window only divided by intervening pillars or mullions, which, repeated at every story, gives as great a singularity to the interior as to the exterior of the palaces ; and has been equally preserved in those built after the Lombard, the pointed, and the antique style.

In Bologna, for the purpose of furnishing every street with a covered way for passengers on either side, it was required that every house should be preceded or supported, by a portico, which, joining on to that of the next, causes it to lose, in this disposition for the public good, its individual and private importance.

In Florence, the factions that divided its leaders, the popular insurrections which they promoted against each other, made it necessary for every habitation of any importance to combine the external character of a citadel with the internal disposition of a palace ; thence the windows near the ground were made simple *lucarnes*, those of the rooms above were collected into distinct foci, and at the top of the buildings, under the roof, was introduced a continuous open loggia, more for the sake of annoying any assailants underneath, than for that of enjoying the beauty of the prospect, or the freshness of the breeze. Only so much of the peculiar style of the age was adopted, as was compatible with these peculiarities, and thence we see broad, square, projecting entablatures, decorated



with those Gothic ornaments and traceries, in general only seen in the thinnest, sharpest methods of construction, as well as with those of the later revived antique style.

At last, however, the entire annihilation of those states, or the exhaustion of the peculiarities which distinguished them, caused their architecture likewise, to lose in later edifices its marks of local origin.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

CAUSES WHICH PRODUCED THE DECLINE OF POINTED  
ARCHITECTURE, AND RETURN TO AN IMITATION OF  
THE ANTIQUE.

LIKE the rounded architecture, the pointed was fated only to have its day. After it had, throughout all Europe, superseded that rounded style with most extraordinary rapidity, it was itself again, in its turn, throughout all Europe, rejected and displaced by an external and superficial return to those forms and principles of the ancient Greek and Roman style, which had preceded both; and the change was equally rapid and universal. Architects, while the finest antique monuments yet subsisting stared them in the face, and gave them constant ocular evidence of their superior beauty, had every day more widely deviated from those forms and principles, till, at last, their productions retained not the least similitude to those of the ancients, out of which they might be said to have grown. Just when they had arrived at the utmost pitch of that dissimilitude, and when those splendid relics of antiquity, that might, it should seem, have restrained or recalled them from their aberrations, had almost all disappeared from the surface of the earth, they were suddenly seen to leap backwards, across

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all the intervening centuries of slow and gradual development of the pointed and of the rounded style that had preceded it, in order to revive, in name and pretension, if not in reality, in their new fabrics, the forms and features of those antique monuments destroyed. They again abandoned that complicated arch, that expanding buttress, which had become features so prominent in every edifice, for the simple coved ceiling, or transverse cincture, and upright support; they again set aside every species of tracery and tabernacle work, of cusp, and canopy, and crocket, and other ornament peculiar to the pointed style, for the capital, and cornice, and entablature, and balustrade, and vase of the ancients: they even abased all these deviations from the antique, which they had erst so much admired; and they called their proceeding a revival of ancient taste, though the expression was false, in more senses than one. Firstly, because a revival can only take place in that identical body, in which that peculiar mode of life existed before; and because the true and genuine antique taste had only existed in ancient Greece, while the re-adoption of ancient forms only took place out of Greece; and next, because, however much the change might have displayed an unqualified abandonment of the pointed style, with all its peculiar merits as well as blemishes, it was only an external resumption of certain antique forms jumbled together, without regard to their nature or destination, and by no means an uniform, and universal, and consistent return to the very essence of antique taste and principle, as we shall, further down, more explicitly show.

This dereliction, this contemptuous treatment of the characteristics of the pointed style, before so much admired, and so studiously perfected; this sudden and general reversion from it, to the wholly different modifications of ancient architecture, has been, by some fanciful writers, attributed, whimsically enough, to a revived love for all that was antique in art, produced by the accidental discovery of some of the chef-d'œuvres of ancient literature among the dust of monastic libraries, and of ancient art within the alluvial soil of modern Rome.

It has been more rationally considered by others, as the necessary companion or consequence of the general return to a taste for the literature and the fine arts of the ancients, when the ignorance and apathy which had for so many centuries prevailed all over Europe, first in Italy began to disappear. Together with that rekindled taste, it has even been attributed to the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, which caused many Greeks to expatriate themselves, and bring to the markets of Latinity, whatever fondness for, and knowledge of antiquity, they were supposed exclusively to have preserved.

By those who regarded every thing which belonged to the Middle Ages as equally barbarous, and every thing produced by the ancients as equally perfect, it has even been considered as among the signal proofs and examples of the return from barbarism to civilization.

The first supposition it would be waste of patience to controvert: the idea that the sudden discovery of some ancient manuscripts, the unexpected exhumation

of some ancient marbles, re-produced an universal return to the antique, is too palpably absurd. The most perfect and sublime productions shown to those whose senses and mind are not prepared to feel their beauties, have no effect upon them : the Turks kick about and reduce to mortar the finest statues of the ancient Greeks, and are assisted in the operation by the modern Greeks themselves ; and in Italy, while in the earlier ages, the taste for all that was most beautiful declined and died away, there were more ancient specimens of it remaining extant in the broad glare of day, which might have attracted those who possessed the power of discrimination, than when the resurrection of this taste for the antique took place. It was only when, from other causes, a knowledge of, and a taste for beauty, had been reproduced in the human mind, that, in order to supply it with new food and new enjoyment, all that might remain of the ancient, was sought among the shelves of monkish libraries, and in the bowels of ancient cities.

Even the other supposition, though more plausible, has not a much more solid foundation. To attribute to the Greeks of Constantinople the new love for arts and literature, that after so many centuries of indifference arose in Italy, is to do them too great an honour. It cannot, in any way, be referred to the fall of their own capital, since not only the first impulse had been given, but extensive works had arisen, long previous to that period : since, even before the birth of that barbarian conqueror who wrested the Greek empire from the last of the Constantines, Tuscany had produced in

poetry a Dante and a Petrarch ; in sculpture a Nicolo and a Giovanni Pisano ; and in painting a Cimabue and a Giotto.

Indeed, the rise of art and literature in Italy could not even be attributed to the Greeks of Constantinople before the extinction of their empire, while it still was flourishing, or at least alive : since people can but give what they possess, and teach what they know ; and since, among those very Greeks, both the fine arts and the belles-lettres were at the lowest ebb : since eloquence, poetry, and philosophy, had been relinquished for the most frivolous or absurd theological discussions ; painting, long trammelled by the most narrow religious rules and mechanical processes, had been reduced to the mere servile operation of copying, from age to age, the same few stiff unmeaning outlines : and sculpture had been, by the iconoclasts, wholly banished or extirpated : since all they had preserved of literature was a few grammatical disputations and some dates, and all they had retained of the arts was a few technical processes.

Had the Italians owed their knowledge of the principles of art and literature to the tuition of the Constantinopolitan Greeks, the scholars could not so rapidly have outstripped their masters : but the truth is, that whatever new life and vigour and luxuriance literature and the fine arts acquired in Italy, so far from being the effect of foreign cultivation, was the spontaneous consequence of the new direction of men's minds to objects of beauty and pleasure, produced on the spot, by the abolition of feudal shackles, the gradual return

of liberty, industry, trade, ambition, information, public spirit, and whatever else had formerly, among the ancient Greeks, created a similar pre-eminence in taste and letters, over other contemporaneous nations: These circumstances, after they had produced the ferment in men's minds that showed itself in original productions, caused convents to be disturbed for old manuscripts, and fields to be ripped up for ancient statues, to feed the already kindled flame.

The habitual wanderings from home of the modern Greeks, during the existence of their empire, and their more numerous and frequent dispersions after its fall, could give nothing beyond an additional assistance to the new explorers of the paths of literature and the arts, by imparting to them that technical knowledge to which they were the more direct heirs, but which, in their hands, had, like gold in the coffers of the miser, remained for many centuries sterile and unproductive.

Architecture is in some respects differently circumstanced from literature and from the other arts. No doubt that study, that application, which greater numbers bring to bear upon a subject, was necessary to raise the knowledge of ancient letters; while that power, that wealth, which only a few possess, was required to explore the hidden mines of ancient art: the restoration of the former preceded the investigation of the latter: still, in the works of the ancient authors, the allusions to the productions of the ancient artists are so frequent; so much do the productions of Greek painters and sculptors explain and illustrate the speculations of Greek orators and poets; so much does the

same history, and philosophy, and mythology, furnish the subjects for both; that it seems almost impossible for the love of ancient letters any where to acquire great strength, and the love for ancient art to be restrained from following immediately on its footsteps. Thence, in fact, in Italy, the latter soon became a necessary consequence of the former; and, if such is not the case in England, if those same persons who in our schools receive instruction limited to the ancient classics, yet afterwards, in the world, show a remarkable ignorance of, and indifference to, the fine arts, we must suppose that, even with respect to the former, their attention has been directed to the form, rather than to the substance; to the technical details, rather than to the spirit of the composition; to the language, the mere clothing and vehicle, rather than to the beauties displayed by the subject, or the genius which animated its author.

Had a fondness for ancient architecture been an equally natural consequence of an admiration for ancient letters, as was a taste for ancient paintings, sculpture, and other imitative arts, it ought, even in the Middle Ages, to have prevailed, at least in those monasteries and cloisters to which alone the world is indebted for the preservation of the remains of literature, whose devout inhabitants were, during those ages, the only men who continued to riot in the vivid and luxurious descriptions of ancient poetry and mythology: whereas, in monasteries and cloisters originated the highest and fullest development of that most anti-antique style, which I have called the pointed. Even in



the world in general, it ought at least to have flourished as soon as, from the dusty shelves of monastic libraries, and dark cells of monkish readers, these works were thrown into general light and circulation among every rank of the laity: whereas more than a century elapsed, after the works of the ancients, again taught and taken as models, even in the schools for youth, had thence taken the name of classic, before in architecture any attempts were made to revive the antique style.

Nay, had the return of a taste for the style of the ancients in architecture been a necessary consequence of a similar restoration in the sister arts of painting and sculpture, it must, at least, have immediately followed that re-action in those other branches of the same system, which may have been intended for imitation of the ancients, or may also have been the mere natural result of the improvement of the age; whereas Nicolo Pisano, and his son Giovanni, both architects, as well as sculptors, who, in the superb pulpit of the dome of Sienna, finished in 1266, and in many other works, as in the Campo Santo of their native city, had made prodigious strides in sculpture and architecture, still in the latter followed the taste of their age, as did likewise Giotto and Cimabue in Italy; and in Germany, Jan van Eyck, Theodore of Prague, Wurmser of Strasburg; and even Albert Durer and Holbein, in those architectural designs which they were in the habit of introducing into their pictures. The fact is, that however much the adoption of the antique rules in the fine arts may necessarily flow from the admiration of ancient productions in the belles-lettres, the return to the imi-

tation of collateral architecture does not proceed so necessarily from either, or from both.

Oratory and poetry, painting and sculpture, seek their subjects and their models in nature : and in every country and in every era in which they are practised, as long as the subjects and models remain the same, the works derived from them must do so likewise. The comparative excellence of such productions can only depend upon the judicious selection of these subjects and models, and upon the truth with which they are imitated or described. Therefore, if the ancients particularly excelled, both in choice and in execution, the moderns, as they gained greater proficiency, without any positive distinct intention of doing so, must progressively have acquired greater similitude to the ancients. Oratory and poetry, painting and sculpture, considered, as they should be in the greater number of their productions, as arts more of beauty and pleasure than of strict necessity or utility, are more directly dependent for their support on their faithfulness to the permanent forms of nature in general,—are less so on their conformity with peculiar institutions, and habits, and customs of men, varying in different eras and countries ; so that, whenever a change, or a new development in the taste of men, requires in the disposition of the component materials of these arts some remodification, this may be effected, as it was on their revival, without any very material inconvenience or detriment to man's settled manners, wants, comforts, and possessions.

But architecture is in a different predicament. It is not an art of mere beauty and pleasure : its compo-

sitions are not of necessity imitative of certain originals, alike and unvarying, in every age, and under every circumstance. It is essentially an art of direct utility; its productions must be ruled by certain conditions, not of mere resemblance, but of fitness. The considerations by which their merits are to be estimated, are not so much retrospective as prospective. Its essential modifications in each age and country must depend in part, on the natural materials, localities, and in part, on the artificial forms, social, civil, and religious, on the acquired habits and manners of the peculiar nation for which it labours; and the changes in these must produce corresponding variations in architecture.

In fact, these causes had produced this effect uniformly from the era when, in the forests of indolent Greece, arose the simplest forms of its wooden hut; and through every later and higher successive development of the art of building, under the successive denominations of Grecian, Roman, Byzantine, and Lombard, until the last and loftiest ramifications of the German, or pointed style: of that spire towering in the sky, in order to call from the farthest distances the Christian to the worship of his God. Indeed, architecture, during all these periods, not only had been modified by the exigencies of the times and places where its productions arose, but preserved with these the utmost harmony and adaptation. And if, from the decline of the fine and imitative arts, it had, in its mere superficial forms and ornaments, lost all that elegance and finish which was exhibited in ancient Greece, in consequence of so many additional centuries of study

and experience, its professors had acquired a degree of science, of technical skill, and of powers and resources, far beyond what they possessed in the finest era of Grecian art. The architect found on every side, in the regions of space, a means of advancement, where formerly, on every side, his flight had been arrested.

Thence, a revulsion in the system of literature and the fine arts, a return of these to the point at which they had been abandoned in a manner, by the pagans of ancient Athens and Rome, by no means implied, or showed as its necessary consequence, a corresponding retrograde movement in architecture.

Admitting, for a moment, that a returning taste for, and familiarity with, ancient oratory, painting, poetry, and sculpture, should, by mere association, and without any direct regard to the intrinsic merits and superiorities of ancient architecture, have produced for that also, a returning inclination, a wish to exchange in buildings the form of an age more recent, but, in most respects, more rude, from whose manners, institutions, and language, the mind was becoming estranged, for those of a period more distant but more refined, with whose personages, and history, and language, a new and greater intimacy had been formed.

Nay, even admitting that the attention, again directed not only to ancient imitative arts, but to architecture, had caused a fresh recognition of that superiority in points of elegance, and perfection of detail and execution, which it cannot be denied to possess, so complete as, independently of associations of ideas,

and for its own intrinsic value, to originate a desire to reproduce its forms and manners. Still would these, if the only motives to excite such a revolution, have induced architects to attempt no more than the feasible task of combining with their improvements in the mechanical and scientific departments, displayed in the pointed, all those relinquished excellencies in the external and ornamental parts, shown in the antique style, for which there was left such ample room. They would have aspired to elevate architecture, through the combination of the greatest art with the greatest science, to a pitch far beyond that which it had yet attained at any time, either ancient or modern, without requiring a sacrifice of all the essential fruits of many additional centuries of subsequent study and experience, to a mere superficial resumption of ancient forms, to a recombination of these, like that of the limbs of different bodies, into a monster devoid of consistency, and thus of vital energy and vigour ; to a dereliction of all those modifications peculiarly adapted to the social and religious habits which had grown with their growth, to an entire abandonment of all those ingenious boldnesses from which the ancients only abstained because they knew them not ; and for which, had they known them, they would gladly have renounced many of those forms which were now resumed, without, in short, adopting fashions which, so far from appearing as one of the effects and symptoms of an increase of knowledge and refinement, were, in one sense at least, a retrograding to greater ignorance and blindness. They would not have stopped short of those very

beauties of the antique style which ought to have been purchased by the sacrifice, to produce a mere jumble of ancient forms, destitute at once of the skill of the pointed, and the grace of the antique.

We must, therefore, besides the causes hitherto alleged, seek others, more comprehensive and more efficient, for that general dereliction of the peculiar perfections of the pointed style—of that style on which, during so many ages, so much thought, so much industry, so much experience had been bestowed, just at the moment when it had attained its highest perfection; an abandonment sudden and general, for a successor, in many respects, very inferior, and only showing the mangled remnants of the antique it pretended to revive.

These I find, partly in the increased industry, and skill, and wealth, and knowledge, among the laity itself, at the era of the loftiest blossoming of the pointed style, which caused it to want a much greater number and variety than before, of important fabrics, no longer of that religious character, in which was exhibited the triumph of the monastic architects, and made it feel an impatience of, and a wish to shake off, the influence and the direction of the priesthood, in the planning and elevation of these buildings, even at a period prior to that reformation which caused half Europe to detach itself from the church of Rome. These, I find, above all, when in every country where the pointed style had reigned, the church ceased to increase in wealth, in power, in estates, in that natural consequence of this revolution, the successive abandon-

ment or extinction, or expulsion of that body which should be regarded as agents and satellites of the Pope and of his ministers, which only worked by their support, and under their authority, — the body of the free-masons.

This took place about that era. When the different countries of Europe had been filled with nearly all the churches and monasteries they could contain; and when, above all, an increase of industry, and skill, and learning, and knowledge, had produced in the local sovereigns of those countries, a natural jealousy, both of the intrusion of those foreign artificers and craftsmen privileged to the disparagement of their own authority, and to the detriment of their subjects' welfare; an impatience of the influence and interference of the popes, who upheld and supported the intruders; and, with this diminished respect for the papal dominion, a diminished dependence on the craft of these his foreign *protégés*, they began to thwart and persecute them in every possible way: not only to deprive them of their privileges, but, not yet daring to acknowledge the real cause of their antipathy, to impute to them imaginary crimes, in order to terrify them by unjust punishments. History has recorded the accusations preferred in England against the Lombard merchants and bankers, and the treatment inflicted upon them: nor was that of the free-masons much more lenient. In 1424, Henry VI. declared all corporations of free-masons illegal, and threatened those that should continue to hold chapters and meetings, with fine, imprisonment, and other penalties. Similar measures

were gradually taken against them in other countries, in consequence of which their trade at last entirely failed: those engaged in it were obliged to seek other means of support, and no new members aspired to the advantages of the fraternity. In confirmation of this opinion, it appears that the country in which the free-masons continued longest to preserve their footing and their credit, namely, Germany, was that in which the pointed style continued longest to flourish, and was latest superseded.

The empty organization, appellations, lodges, forms of admission, oaths of secrecy, insignia, and engagements for mutual assistance, remaining, were only by themselves kept up in remembrance of what they had been, or in hopes of what they might recover; or by others laid hold of and appropriated, sometimes for carrying into effect, more easily and systematically, certain useful and philanthropic purposes; at others, for maturing, with more union and security, plans of general subversion, and recombination; and at others again, for pursuing, in more suitable company, harmless mummery and jollity — and leave those not initiated, to wonder what could be the nature of a secret by so many so faithfully preserved; and, above all, what connection it could have with its symbols,—whence could originate the terms and the associations derived from the building art.

The downfall of the free-masons,—of that body composed of so many lesser societies dispersed and united all over Europe, which, throughout all Europe, was alone initiated in all the secrets of the pressure and the



counter-pressure of the most complicated arches, so essential to the achievement of constructions after the pointed fashion, and so intricate, that even a Wren confessed his inability to understand all their mysteries; and which kept these secrets equally from the knowledge of the world at large, while it flourished, and when it dispersed;—the passage of the whole art of building, from the hands of these able masters, into those of mere tyros, not bred in the schools of freemasonry, and not qualified to hazard its bold designs, forced architecture immediately backwards from that highly complex and scientific system, into one more simple in its principles, and more easy in its execution.

The revived admiration for, and imitation of, the ancients in every other art, afforded to these new and less skilful architects, means of concealing their ignorance, and their compulsory dereliction of the pointed style, under an affected preference for their works; and they eagerly adopted the mask. The antique in architecture was again cried up by those that had the watchword, as the only manner worthy of being copied, and that other was called barbarous, which thenceforth baffled all attempts at imitation. It then received, as well as the previous Lombard style, the epithet of Gothic—not because considered as the offspring of the Goths, but because the word was synonymous with all that was barbarous; and while the prior rounded style was acknowledged as indigenous, by being called *Gotico Lombardo*, the other was distinguished as *Gotico Tedesco*.

## CHAPTER XLV.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESUMED STYLE OF THE  
ANCIENTS.

As inability to continue to build in the pointed fashion had caused the revulsion in architecture rather than a thorough knowledge of, and taste for, that of the ancients, this pretended resumption was a mere masquerade under ancient features, rather than a true imitation of the ancient principles in building, which had produced these lineaments.

The real antique style, when it first arose, sprung gradually, and connectedly, out of the climate and institutions for which its buildings were required. It resembled a plant, which, though simple, yet produced by the very nature and essence of the spot where it grows, is as much adapted to the soil, as it finds the soil salutary to itself.

This new style, imitative of the antique, was derived from none of these circumstances, but sprung only out of the necessity of clothing the ignorance of the principles of the pointed style, under the pretence of preferring another, and consequently, where there no longer existed in architects a natural, an habitual, previous familiarity with all the characteristics and

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principles which had guided the ancients : those that adopted it, were obliged, painfully and piece-meal, to seek for every member they used, a precedent in some ancient monument, frequently demanded in vain, always risked an application and combination of them inconsistent with the practice of the ancients, and could only produce copies most unlike the pretended originals, as little entitled to the name to which they aspired, as to that which they had renounced.

It should not be supposed that there was in any place a transition, at once entire and sudden, from the latest refinements of the pointed style, to the most decided opposite extremities, of the purely antique ; that at one single prodigious backward leap, architecture reverted, through all the intervening centuries, from the loftiest and sharpest German spire, to the lowest and flattest Grecian hut ; that the desire of change at once penetrated from the external surface, to the innermost recesses of every fabric. The contrary was the case : imitation, wholly different in that respect from original productions, always begins with partial, and superficial, but obvious details, and from these proceeds gradually to more abstruse and general principles. Even in literature, the language and locution of the ancients were copied long before the plan of their compositions. In architecture, likewise, the assimilation began with detached, with superficial, with ornamental parts ; it only by degrees penetrated more deeply, and attached itself to the more essential porticoes.

Still, however, the return was most rapid in those places in which the distance was smallest, which the

prevailing fashions had reached from the original point of starting. It was most slow where the variation had become most extensive. Where, as in most regions of Italy, the edifices, even of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, had retained much more of the Lombard style than they had adopted of the German fashion — had in their single-stemmed columns, their round-headed arches, their continued friezes, cornices, and entablatures, their triangular pediments, their mouldings of every description, nay, the very *ovolo* and acanthus that adorned these, preserved more of the Roman character, and offered deviations from it less marked, the pedestals, and columns, and arches, and entablatures, and pediments, and other members, were at first left to preserve all that minuteness of general proportion, and that multiplicity of divisions and subdivisions, peculiar to the Lombard style; and only received in their different members, and outlines, and profiles, and ornaments, and details, an appearance more directly resembling that of the later ages of pagan Rome. Whatever might be the extent and vastness of the whole, the parts still were made to look like a collection of miniature models. Like every tyro in a new science, who, proud of his acquirements, wishes to display all he has learnt, and by that means only shows that he has not yet learnt all, the new architects seemed to make each new building a pattern book only of all the different ancient orders. The minuteness of the subdivisions, and the lowness of the relief, might be well enough calculated to give to buildings really small, and only intended to be seen from a short

distance, an appearance of size : but, from the flatness, the low relief of the different members, the total want of that boldness, that projection, that breadth of light and shade, necessary to produce a distant effect, it left those really large, tame, and insipid ; and as the want of strong contrast of light and shade was often supplied by a juxtaposition of a great variety of materials and colours, it frequently resembled a painted, more than a real architecture. Those imitations of animal and vegetable life, of nature, and of art, made to grow out of each other, in the most whimsical manner, which Vitruvius describes as already in his time superseding all other architectural decorations of a chaster sort, which the excavations of ancient baths and other subterraneous structures had again brought to light, which thence had at first received the appellation of grotesques, or ornaments, found in grottoes, — in its original sense more appropriate, than that which fathers them upon the Arabs, who shrink from the representation of animated nature, — were embroidered in unbounded profusion on every panel and frieze of pilasters, entablatures, and other members. To these were still added, for greater richness, separate modillions and tablets, often of precious materials—in bronze, porphyry, serpentine, and gilding, and even imitations of gems and jewels, so that the whole had not only a gay, but frequently a meretricious appearance, little suited to edifices of a sober and sedate character ; and which, nevertheless, was applied without discrimination to buildings of every sort : witness the monastery of the Bertosa near Pavia, the palace of one pope at the

Vatican, and the mausoleum of another in San Pietro in Vincoli: but though a would-be imitation of the antique, this style has, from the era in which it particularly flourished in Italy, received the name of the Cinque-cento style.

This was the manner in which, at Florence, Brunelleschi, disciple of Donatello, and born in 1377, after having finished Santa Maria del Fiore, begun in 1298 by Arnolfo da Lapo, in a style corresponding with the rest of the edifice, completed the Riccardi and the Strozzi palaces, with all that feudal sturdiness of buildings intended to serve as citadels in times of popular commotion, or as palaces in those of peace and tranquillity.

The Pitti palace begun by him was finished by Ammanati in the same style. Brunelleschi also built the elegant churches of San Lorenzo and of the Spirito Santo, and still more elegant Capella dei Pazzi: the manner was still improved at Rimini, in the magnificent internal clothing, and external case of white marble, which in 1450, Leon Battista Alberti added to the pointed church of San Francesco; at Mantua in another church built by the same architect, and at Venice in the porch of the small church of the Miracoli, designed in 1481 by Pietro Lombardo, exhibiting every richest species of porphyry and jasper, and in the front of the Scuola di San Marco, designed by Pietro's relative, Martino, and offering within its fictitious arches a perspective architecture in basso-relievo. But of this style, Bramante, the master of Raphael in architecture, as Pietro Perugino had been

in painting, may be said to have exhibited the most elegant specimens, first at Milan, his birth-place, in the cupola of Santa Maria delle Grazie, finished in 1496; and next, at Rome, in the elegant façades of the Palazzo Giraud, and that of the Cancelleria, and in the cortile and tribune of the Belvidere, since spoilt by the interposition of the library; to these would still have been added, had his design for St. Peter's been executed, another monument somewhat less gigantic, but more elegant and more classical, than that which was substituted by Sangallo, and was again, on the death of Sangallo, in 1546, changed by Michael Angelo, and again for the last time altered for the worse, by Carlo Maderno.\*

\* The following criticism on St. Peter's is extracted from a MS. of the author, and may perhaps be interesting to the reader:—

“The first modern structure that attracted my attention was St. Peter's, that splendid basilica built over the tomb of the prince of the apostles, in the capital of Christendom, at the expense of all the catholic part of Europe, which took more than a century to finish, was fabricated out of the spoil of the most splendid ancient edifices that remained, and is the most gigantic and most superb structure that the modern world can boast, or that is ever likely to rise in it.

“In the way to it I passed over the bridge of St. Angelo, decorated with statues by Bernini, that look, from the distortion of their limbs and the flutter of their draperies, as if caught in a whirlwind; and by that still imposing mass, once the tomb of Adrian, now the citadel of Rome, where Belisarius defended himself against the Goths, by throwing down upon them the marble statues that adorned its numerous zones.

“From that point a noble avenue should lead to the place of St. Peter's, in order to complete its magnificence—a shabby street forms the approach. When, however, the circular colonnade, the central obelisk, the two foaming fountains, casting, day and night, without ceasing, a vast stream into the air, and at the further end of a gradually ascending square the immense façade and the proud dome of St. Peter's

Raphael, so great in painting, Michael Angelo so gigantic in sculpture, both showed in their first archi-

suddenly open upon the sight, all former impressions vanish, and admiration only remains. But when this again begins to cool, one smiles at the Egyptian obelisk carrying the Christian cross; one regrets its pedestal, too narrow for the spread of its base; one condemns in the church, its front so much broken by partial projections, its pediment, standing on a base too narrow and an expanse too small, and rendered evidently useless by the ponderous attic that rises behind it, and crushes the façade to which it was intended to give elevation.

“Contemplating those columns of nearly nine feet in diameter, but which formed of a masonry of small stones, only look, on a near approach, like small turrets, one cannot help casting a lingering look back on the portico of the Pantheon, and thinking that elevation of insulated columns of granite of one single piece, though smaller in its dimensions, grander in its conception, and more striking in its effects, than these clusters of huge pillars, all reticulated with joints, and jammed up against a wall.

“Undoubtedly the accessories to St. Peter’s are fine; still do they not impress one like the vast areas, filled with the shade of solemn groves, that precede and lead to the imperial mosques at Constantinople, form an intermediate space between the bustle of a city and the silence of the house of God, and prepare the devout for meditation and for prayer.

“The immense vestibule that precedes the nave of St. Peter’s is grand. The inside of the church has fewer defects than the outside; and one is astonished to find so much splendour and even glitter united with such an air of repose, of majesty, and of quiet. There is a serenity of look and an equability of temperature in this vast edifice, which throws over all its parts an inexpressible charm; and in many of its finishings, by peculiar good luck, have been avoided a number of blemishes in architecture that were in high vogue at the time it was finished. One wonders, for instance, how its ceiling should have escaped allegorical paintings. Bernini, however, who had the worst taste of any man who ever acquired the reputation of a great artist, was still in time to exhibit some of his wretched conceits. Treating the adorning of the first church of Christendom, in the same tawdry, flippant style as he would have done that of a temporary stage, he contrived not only to introduce at one end of the vestibule a theatrical



tectural compositions, a spirit of adherence to the minute cinque-cento style, as is seen alike in the arabesques of the Vatican, designed by the former, and in the mausoleum of Pope Julius II., composed by the latter; but Michael Angelo determined to strike out in architecture a style entirely new, wholly different from that of his predecessors. Professor alike in the three fine arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, and having already in the two former relinquished every thing that was minute, for a style both bold and impressive, he determined to achieve a similar feat in architecture. To the small orders, each only the height of a single story, accumulated over each other, he substituted a single colossal order, spanning the exhibition of Constantine starting at the vision of the cross, but to place in the central point of the church a transparency of the Holy Ghost, surrounded by a glory of rays of plaster gilt. Yet such is the immensity and splendour of St. Peter's, that this defect, and that of the twisted columns of the altar-piece, and a hundred others, are absorbed in the galaxy of beauties with which they are mingled.

"Yet has not St. Peter's, among all its magnificence, above one or two excellent works of art. Michael Angelo has left his name on a small and pitiful *Pieta*: Algardi has intrusted his celebrity to an immense bas-relief, which imitates a painting, and consequently fails in its effect; and on every side you see gorgeous mural monuments, which being neither mere decorations of walls nor positive sarcophagi, encroaching too much for the former, and too little detached and fanciful for the latter, have not the imposing appearance of the most uncouth Gothic tomb. Among these, however, that of Paul III., by Guglielmo della Porta, is much spoken of, and that of Pope Rezzonico, by Canova, deservedly admired. To judge of the size of this enormous pile, two hundred feet longer, and a hundred feet higher, than St. Paul's, one should ascend the cupola, and look down upon the inside. It is here that, suspended over an immense abyss, not hollowed out by the potent hand of nature, but formed by the slow manual operation of man, that man himself looks like an insect creeping within his own work."

whole edifice; and the light and fanciful embroidery of arabesques, thus far exhibited every where, he banished entirely, as childish and frivolous.

Michael Angelo, however, though possessed of mighty genius, wholly wanted taste; in pursuit of novelty he often lost sight of propriety; in seeking the grand, he frequently found the gigantic, the whimsical, the affected, the extravagant; even in sculpture, with the finest specimens of the antique before him, he became *outré*, and a mannerist; what wonder then, that in architecture, with only the vicious monuments of ancient Rome for his models, he should have become still more licentious? Complicated in those leading and fundamental parts which ought always to remain simple, he presents in his works, pedestals preposterously high, pilasters split, sliced, folded, divided, and clustered in every way; entablatures profiling over the columns, and all the faults of the monuments of the age of Diocletian, &c. For Bramante's magnificent hemispheric dome, designed for St. Peter's, he substituted a heavy oblong cupola: of Sangallo's exquisite Farnese palace he spoilt the cortile by an upper story of stilted, and sliced, and clustered pilasters; and his Porta Pia is the most execrable architectural production imaginable. So far from making nearer approaches to the pure antique style than his predecessors had done, he deviated from it much further than Bramante and Sangallo, and opened the door to all the architectural extravagance of which Rome afterwards became the most splendid theatre.\*

\* The following remarks, though occurring in an unpublished MS. on

What materials were employed in edifices of the Lombard and the pointed style, I have already stated. In the region of Lombardy, that land of clay, those of the buildings in the cinque-cento style at first were not more sumptuous; every part of that extensive plain offers edifices in the cinque-cento, as well as in the Lombard and German manner, wholly of brick, and in which, as in these former, that humble material is ennobled by the most exquisite and delicate forms. Witness at Milan the cupola of Santa Maria delle Grazie, the front of the Grand Hospital, and the cloisters of the Lazaretto; and at Venice, at Bologna, and in all the cities along the shores of the Adriatic, a number of edifices both private and public. But if the scale of materials begins as low as in former styles, it rises far higher; for not only in the cinque-cento style we find buildings of brick mixed with marble, or

the subject of the paintings in the Sistine chapel, apply generally to the character of Michael Angelo's genius:—

“Undoubtedly Michael Angelo possessed great native fire, and still more acquired skill; but, like a pedant in art, he wished always to display the whole of that skill; distorted his figures for that purpose, and makes his elect in heaven (*in the Sistine chapel*) appear as much racked as the damned in hell. As to the countenances, there is no elegance, no suavity, no beauty, either ideal or individual, in them. In fact, in his figures, it seldom occurs to look at the face, and when it does, one finds cause to disapprove. Compare, in the ceiling of the Sistine chapel, his head of the Almighty, coming, wafted along by a host of angels, to animate the clay of the first man, with the head of Jupiter inclining to listen to men's prayers, in the Clementine Museum. The latter shows features which, though such that, if ruffled with anger, heaven and earth must shake, yet beam with the sublimest placidity; while the first, in the very greatest act of creation and goodness, displays all the visible perturbation of one already in the act of destroying.”

entirely of pure white marble, but of this latter material mixed with coloured marbles, nay, with bronze, with porphyry, and with serpentine: witness at Pavia the front of the Certosa, at Bergamo that of the Colleoni chapel, at Brescia that of the church of the Miracoli, and at Venice that of the church of the same name, and the Scuola di San Marco.

Where, in Italy, and still more in France, Germany, Spain, or England, the rounded style had not been able to make a stand till the revival of the antique, where the pointed style had superseded the Lombard, the return to the antique was equally gradual, and only begun with combinations more heterogeneous. We first see certain buildings in the most decided, the most florid, the last invented pointed fashion, offer, combined with, and in the midst of its most peculiar features, certain ornaments—modillions, tablets, fillets, scrolls, arabesques—exactly imitated from those in ancient Roman monuments; or employing a pilaster or column to support an arch still pointed. At Ancona, the cortile of the Palazzo del Governo, with the date of 1400 upon it, exhibits its pointed arches resting on regular composite columns; at Rimini, the celebrated church of San Francesco, restored by Leon Battista Alberti in 1450 (name and date on its front), offers internally square pillars, composed of different tiers of regular antique pilasters, under its arches, likewise pointed, but edged with antique mouldings and foliage. At Milan, in the Grand Hospital, the windows are pointed, though the ornaments are after the antique. At Avignon we see a church wholly in the florid style, save that the

spandrils of the arches of the west end contain modillions with antique heads and fillets. These are again seen at Valence, in the front of a house equally in the florid manner, and with arches of its last elliptic form. The same peculiarity occurs at Rouen in the Hôtel du Seigneur de Bourghtheroulde.

Antique modillions and scrolls are likewise intermixed with pointed windows and tabernacle work. At Blois, in the part of the castle built by Louis XII., the pillars are arabesqued, and the arches pointed; at the Château de Gaillon, built by the same monarch in 1500 for George Cardinal D'Amboise, the pilasters and friezes, square, and in the antique form, still are filled with Gothic tracery and tabernacle work; at Liege, in the court of the Palais de Justice, built in 1506, columns, formed like antique balustrades, and covered with antique foliage, support pointed arches of the style of Henry VII.; at Bruges, the Chapelle du Sang de Dieu has similar arches, mixed with antique modillions; and in England we see, in Bishop West's chapel in Ely cathedral, built in 1534, arabesques filling the spandrils of the low-pointed arches.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

ADOPTION THROUGHOUT EUROPE OF THE RESUMED  
STYLE OF THE ANCIENTS.

As, however, for a considerable period after the first revival of arts and sciences, Italy set the fashion in them to the rest of Europe, the nearer approaches to the antique style, in the entire abandonment of pointed arches, and resumption of the ancient orders, also crossed the Alps, and reached successively France, Spain, Germany, and England, though each of these countries, as it was further removed in place from its fountain head, was also later in the adoption.

In France, where, under Louis XII., who came to the throne in 1498, or rather, under Cardinal D'Amboise, his minister, the cinque-cento style had first faintly dawned; where, under Francis I., it had, in what he added to the Château de Blois, and in the Château de Chambord, made great but awkward strides, it seemed to attain its perfection under the long reign of Henry II., when, by the architect Philibert De Lorme, and the sculptor Germain Pilon, the Cour du Louvre was commenced. It continued to flourish with greater or less success, until, under Louis XIV., Perault, in the great façade of the Louvre, en-

tirely abandoned the small orders and the minute style, as much as Michael Angelo had done in Italy, and showed a single order on a grander scale, and in a bolder style.

In Spain, the first fine specimens of the cinque-cento style were shown in the monastery of the Engrazia at Saragossa, and in the magnificent addition made by Charles V. to the Moorish palace of the ancient kings of Grenada.

In Germany, at Heidelberg, the elector Palatine, Otto Henry, also in 1550, made a splendid addition, in the cinque-cento style, to the pointed part of the castle.

In England, the cinque-cento style (which should there rather be called that of the seventeenth century) only began to ripen full a century and a half after Brunelleschi, the first restorer of the antique in Italy, had begun, in 1420, his works at Santa Maria del Fiore. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Bishop Fox still placed the six mortuary chests, imitative of ancient sarcophagi, and wrought in Italy, in Winchester cathedral, on a screen wholly in the pointed style, and in the same manner built his chantry. Wolsey, the ostentatious minister of Henry VIII., and Queen Elizabeth, during her long reign, still raised her palaces and villas in the Gothic style, while the details of the court of the Louvre were finishing in 1572, by Jean Goujon,\* in a style nearly equal to the antique ; and it was only after the accession of James I.

\* He was at work on them when, in that year, he was shot in the massacre of the St. Barthelemi.

in 1603, that the first examples of the cinque-cento were shown at Oxford, in the five orders piled one above the other in the front of the public schools; and in Westminster Abbey, in the miserable monuments of Mary Queen of Scots, and of Elizabeth; all, in point of execution and taste, at an immeasurable distance from works of the same style in Italy.

Inigo Jones was the first in England who, after having in the banquetting hall at Whitehall, still applied small orders one above the other, in St. Paul's, Covent Garden, gave the example of a single colossal order; an example too strictly followed by later architects in private houses, of different stories, though appropriate to the nature and magnitude of public edifices.



## CHAPTER XLVII.

## A LIST OF EDIFICES IN THE CINQUE-CENTO STYLE.

To this sketch of the history of that imitation of the antique style, which followed the pointed, and was, in Italy, called the cinque-cento, we shall, as to those of the former styles, subjoin a list of some of the most remarkable specimens, in its different gradations, in different parts of Europe.

*Cinque-cento Style in Lombardy.*

## MILAN.

The octagonal chapel of the Gothic church of Santa Maria delle Grazie, founded in 1465, and built, in 1495, by Bramante, in terra-cotta. The smaller cupola, in the same style, of one of the chapels of Sant' Eustorgio, also by Bramante.\* The Grand Hospital, begun in 1436, and with pointed windows, but finished with rich arabesques in terra-cotta. The cloisters of the Lazaretto, begun in 1498.

## PAVIA.

The Certosa, founded towards the end of the four-

\* Plate XCVI.

teenth century, by John Galeazzo, first Duke of Milan, but continued at different periods : to whose Lombard east end and pointed nave, was added, in 1474, a most gorgeous front in the cinque-cento style, in marble, bronze, porphyry, and serpentine, displaying an endless profusion of ornaments and sculpture ; and its large and small cloisters, whose cinque-cento ornaments, though in terra-cotta, are rich beyond description.

## COMO.

The dome ; of which the front is partly in the Lombard, and partly in the pointed style, but of which the side entrances and window casements, completed by Pope Innocent XI., of the Odescalchi family, in the cinque-cento style, are covered with modillions, scrolls, arabesques, &c., of the most splendid description.

## BERGAMO.

The baptistery next to the modernised dome, a small building in the transition style from the pointed to the cinque-cento, and very singular ; offering an octagon, composed of eight insulated piers, or, rather, blocks, of red marble, each containing a shallow pointed niche, with a saint, the intervals between which are filled by a forest of small columns, intermixed with statues.

The front of the Colleoni chapel, next to Santa Maria Maggiore, in the transition style from the Lombard to the cinque-cento, and showing a splendid central rose, in the midst of the most extraordinary and crowded assemblage of small arches, columns, pilasters, balustrades, and trellis-work, all covered over with the

richest embroidery of sculpture, spread on a ground inlaid in white, red, and black marble.

#### BRESCIA.

The small church of the Miracoli; a very rich front in various coloured marbles and sculpture.

Palazzo Publico: in its general form, and in its details — its open arcade underneath, and closed story above; its composite columns, with capitals all different, its window casements with fluted composite pilasters, and its uncommonly rich unbroken general frieze, displaying the perfection of the cinque-cento style, only disfigured by the clumsy and preposterous attic and roof since added.

#### VERONA.

The Bevilacqua Palace; designed by San Michele, a Veronese architect, who died in 1559.

#### PADUA.

The church of the Eremitani, built in the year 1276, in the Lombard style, shows, in the magnificent frescoes executed by Andrea Mantegna, who died in 1517, the most beautiful and varied cinque-cento architecture.

#### VENICE.

The little church of the Miracoli, built in 1481, by Pietro Lombardo: its front with panels in marble, porphyry, and serpentine.

The front of the Scuola di San Marco, at right

angles with the church of San Giovanni e Paolo : in rich marbles, and showing, through feigned arcades, an imitative perspective in basso-relievo.

Several parts in the cortile of the Doge's palace ; the front of several palaces, &c.

## RIMINI.

The white marble casing, added in 1450, by Leon Battista Alberti, both inside and outside of the pointed church of San Francesco. The front with the porphyry, panelling, and modillions seen in many edifices at Venice : the sides on round arches on a broad basement, and containing sarcophagi, all alike, for the friends and favourites of Sigismund Malatesta, in the finest, simplest, and grandest style. The inside very rich and elegant, but still following the pointed outline.

## CIVITA CASTELLANA.

The cathedral in the pointed style, and with a mari-gold window : has a rich cinque-cento portico of the Ionic order, inlaid in various coloured marbles.

## FLORENCE.

In the cloisters of Santa Croce, the fine front of the Capella dei Pazzi, by Brunelleschi : and many tombs in that church.

The chapel of the Medici in San Lorenzo : the front of San Miniato.

## SIENNA.

The Palazzo Spanocchi : with its terra-cotta busts in the shields or clypei of the cornice.

## ROME.

A number of mausolea.

The loggie of the Vatican.

The cortile and tribune of the Belvidere.

The Palazzo Giraud, and of the Cancellaria.

The mausoleum of Julius II. in San Pietro in Vincolo, and a number of churches, palaces, &c.

*Cinque-cento in Spain.*

## GRANADA.

The palace added by Charles V. to that of the ancient Moorish kings : square outside ; but internally with a round cortile, formed like a circus by two ranges of open colonnades.

## SARAGOSSA.

The monastery of Engrazia.

*Cinque-cento in Germany.*

## HEIDELBURG.

The east wing, added in 1550, by Elector Otto Henry, to the Gothic castle : immensely rich, and with

large statues of electors in niches between the windows.

## LIÈGE.

Bishop's palace, built in 1506, by the Cardinal Bishop Erard de la Mark: has internally a large square court, of which the columns, formed like huge balustrades, some single, with a cippus over them, others doubled, adorned with acanthus and water-leaves, and diaper work, and grotesques, different in each, support arches of the low pointed shape, called in England Henry VII.'s, and over these, windows like those of Elizabeth's buildings in England.

## ANTWERP.

Town-hall, with loggie\* under the roof, and large chimneys, like small temples.

## BRUGES.

Chapelle du Sang de Dieu, † last florid Gothic, with balustrade, pilasters, and low-pointed arches, and antique modillions in the spandrils.

*Cinque-cento Style in France.*

## AVIGNON.

A church, with florid front, and antique modillions and arabesques in spandrils.

\* Plate LXXXII.

† Plate LXXXIX.

## VALENCE.

A private house, in the same style; with elliptic arches.

Château de Blois; parts built by Louis XII. and Francis I., with singular winding staircases.

Château de Gaillon.

Château de Chambord; with a double cork-screw staircase.

Château d'Aust; built by Henry II. for Diane de Poitiers, after designs by Philibert De Lorme, and already showing the three Grecian orders very correctly.

## PARIS.

Château des Tuilleries.

Court of the Louvre.

Mausoleum of Louis XII., like a small chapel; and another of Francis I. and other buildings.

## ROUEN.

Hôtel de Seigneur de Bourgtheroulde, and several others.

*Cinque-cento in England.*

Front of the schools, Oxford; tombs of Mary and Elizabeth, Westminster Abbey; chapel of Bishop West in Ely cathedral; six mortuary chests placed by Bishop Fox on the screen round the choir of Winchester cathedral; Longleat; Audley End, and many other private houses.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

REMARKS UPON ARCHITECTURE SINCE THE TIME OF  
MICHAEL ANGELO, IN EUROPE.

WE have left off in the history of the revived antique architecture in Italy with Michael Angelo, the first who resumed the colossal style — the single huge order, embracing all the stories of a building. We have shown that, in other respects, far from approaching the pure antique nearer than his predecessors, Bramante and Sangallo, had done, he only deviated from it farther; and though, in other parts of Italy, there started up now and then an architect, who, like Palladio, sought to stem the torrent of bad taste, and to construct edifices in a better manner, their example had but little weight when opposed by that of Michael Angelo.\* After having thrown off the legitimate

The following estimate of the merits of Palladio may be interesting:—

“Vicenza was the native place of the great Palladio, the elegant front of whose little mansion is still shown. Many superb façades, concealed in the narrowest streets and most uncouth corners, still bear the marks of his sublime genius. His most admired productions are the Olympic Theatre, the Rotunda, or country house of Count Gabrielli, and the front of the Town-hall. It is singular, that while Rome, where existed the finest and most numerous remains of ancient architecture, should have educated the modern architects, such as Fontana, Borromini, Bernini,



skackles of that style which belonged to their age, their religion, &c., the Italians were little disposed long to suffer the restraints of that of a different age, religion, country, with which they had nothing in common, and which they had adopted without call or motive. They had always, in every art, in painting, in poetry, in narrative, even in sculpture and in music, shown themselves fond of little conceits. They could not even refrain, in architecture, the sturdiest of arts, from abusing that exquisite modesty, simplicity, consistency of the antique, which they did not understand, as tameness and want of spirit: thinking they displayed independence by showing inconsistency, and genius by showing extravagance. A Fontana, a Bernini, and a Borromini, in their corkscrew columns, their architraves *en papillote*, their pediments curled and twisted into every unnatural shape, their architecture in perspective, their orders, intended for flat wide temples, pyramidized one over the other, in high narrow churches, far outstripped in bad taste the worst examples of the worst era of pagan Rome.

If, of the leading, the essential members of architecture, the shapes were thus distorted, the consistency thus destroyed, still more were those surfaces and outlines, those mouldings and details of a lighter and a more purely ornamental sort, which form, as it were, its last and brightest embroidery and fringe, destined to experience every species of contortion. In every

most remarkable for whim and extravagance, in the north of Italy should have arisen and flourished the only architect whose simplicity of style approached that of the best antique models."

material, and in every art susceptible of the influence of a taste either pure or corrupted; in wood, in stone, in metal, in porcelain, in glass, nay, in the tissue of the different stuffs that serve for furniture or for clothing; in architecture, sculpture, painting, chasing, jewellery, embroidery, and weaving; in the temple and the tomb; in the exterior and interior of houses; in vehicles and in vessels; in floors, walls, and ceilings; in the stationary parts and in the loose furniture; in the altar and the sideboard; in the chair, table, chimney-piece, chandelier, sconce, and picture frame; in the priest's surplice, the lady's flounce, and the gentleman's lace ruffle; in the chalice and the snuff-box, the vase and the salver, the ring and the bracelet—not only all those accurate and faithful imitations of actual productions, animate or inanimate, of nature or of art, which even the arabesques still show, and which are pleasing to the eye and the mind, but even all regularity, all definiteness of surface and shape; all forms decidedly round, or square, or smooth, or projecting, or straight, or angular, were abandoned for a sort of irregular, uncertain, involved outline, nowhere showing a decided continuation or a decided break, and for an unmeaning *appliqué* of clumsy scroll-work, which spread like an ulcer, from the rapidity of its confection, and the slight degree of skill, taste, or imagination, necessary to its execution; which, like a cancer, ate into every moulding, and corroded every surface, and nowhere left simplicity, variety, unity, contrast, or symmetry.

This taste, like all the former born in Italy, soon passed into France. It graced the dotage of the four-

teenth Louis, whose youth had seen better things. It gained strength under the Regent, and it adorned the pedestal of the statue which represented Louis XV. on his accession, in a large powdered periwig, with flowing curls, a square-skirted coat, high-heeled shoes, a tear in his eye, his nose inclined upwards into the air, and his hand thrust into his side. From France it spread like wildfire all over the Continent, and was wafted across the Channel to the British shores, where, as it is well shown in Italy, in the modern part of Piranesi's prints, and in France in the pictures of Watteau, it is happily exemplified in the furniture of Hogarth's compositions, and known by the name of the old French taste, though Italy has the credit of the invention. Its proper name should be the inane or frippery style.

In fact, such was the *ennui* which its unmeaningness and insipidity caused, that already, before the Revolution, the French had begun to shake it off, as may be seen at Paris in the church of Sainte G enevi ve, the new additions to the Palais Bourbon, and other edifices; and that, since that period, they have greatly improved their architecture, and all the arts connected with it.

In England, government, by taxing alike heavily, brick and stone, which form the solid walls; and the apertures from which they are absent for the admission of light; discourages in architecture both solidity of construction and variety of form; copyhold tenures, short leases, and the custom of building whole streets by contract, still increase the slightness, the uniformity, the poverty of the general architecture. Here the exterior shell of most edifices is designed by a surveyor

who has little science, and no knowledge of the fine arts; and the internal finishing—regarded as distinct from the province of the architect—is left to a mere upholder, still more ignorant, who most frequently succeeds in the apparent object of marring the intentions of the builder. Thus has arisen at least that species of variety in building which proceeds from an entire and general ignorance of what is suitable and appropriate to the age, nation, and localities.

Some, still reviving the name of the antique—the classic style; but only acquainted with its nature in public edifices, those which alone have, in some degree, survived the wreck of ages, by building houses in the shape of temples, have contrived for themselves most inappropriate and uncomfortable dwellings.

Some, reverting to the pointed style, as more indigenous, more national; but in England, where there are few private buildings to serve as models for it, taking all their ideas from religious edifices, instead of a temple, have lodged themselves in a church.

Others have, in times of profound peace, or at least of internal security and refinement, affected to raise rude and embattled castles, as if they expected a siege.

Others, again, wishing for more striking novelty, have sought their models among the ancient Egyptians, the Chinese, or the Moors; or, by way of leaving no kind of beauty unattempted, have occasionally collected and knit together, as if they were the fragments of an universal chaos, portions of all these styles, without consideration of their original use and destination.

Finally, as if in utter despair, some have relapsed

into an admiration of the old scroll-work—the old French style—of which the French had become ashamed, and which they had rejected, and greedily bought it up. Not content with ransacking every pawnbroker's shop in London and in Paris, for old buhl, old porcelain, old plate, old tapestry, and old frames, they even set every manufacture at work, and corrupted the taste of every modern artist, by the renovation of this wretched style.

No one seems yet to have conceived the smallest wish or idea of only borrowing of every former style of architecture, whatever it might present of useful or ornamental, of scientific or tasteful; of adding thereto whatever other new dispositions or forms might afford conveniences or elegancies not yet possessed; of making the new discoveries, the new conquests, of natural productions unknown to former ages, the models of new imitations more beautiful and more varied; and thus of composing an architecture which, born in our country, grown on our soil, and in harmony with our climate, institutions, and habits, at once elegant, appropriate, and original, should truly deserve the appellation of "*Our Own.*"

THE END.

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[*The Roman numerals refer to the Engravings.*]

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